The Outlook

Volume 84 Saturday, November 10, 1906 Number 11

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THE OUTLOOK is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The fourth issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

PRICE.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

POSTAGE IS PREPAID by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

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LETTERS should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
287 Fourth Avenue, New York

Chicago Office, 1436 Marquette Building

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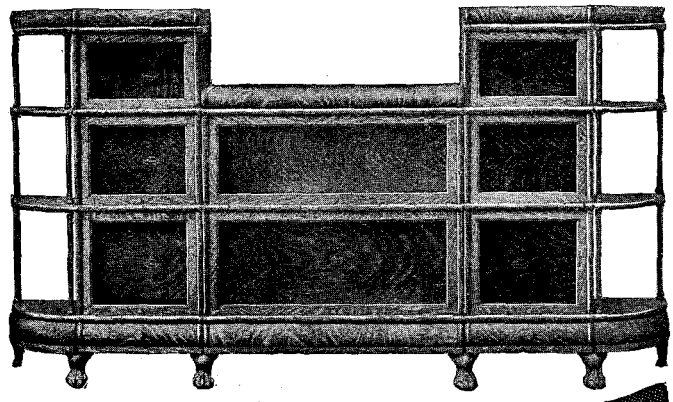

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1906

❀

The Elections Leaving till next week the interpretation of the elections, we here briefly explain their most significant feature, Mr. Hearst's defeat, by recalling briefly his campaign. Twelve months ago the foremost opponent of the Democratic municipal ticket in New York City, this year he sought and obtained the Democratic nomination for Governor, partly by the purchase of delegates pledged to his nomination, partly by a political deal with Tammany's chief, partly by unseating, through a political trick, enough of the delegates opposed to him to give him a majority in the Convention, and partly by the genuine support of the members of the Independence League. The demagogic methods of his nomination and campaign disgusted thousands of men who believed in the platform of the Independence League but could no longer believe in the man who stood upon it, and tens of thousands of men who had always voted the Democratic ticket and always believed in Democratic principles, but who also believed that a vote for Mr. Hearst was a vote to destroy the Democratic party and to betray its principles. What made his candidacy perilous to the State was the number of honest and patriotic men who, in spite of their disapproval of the man and his methods, believed that the best way to protest against plutocracy was to vote for the man who shouted most loudly against it. Mr. Hearst's victory would have been a disastrous setback to the cause of popular rights; his defeat opens the way for the rational and steady advance of that cause under sound leadership against its twofold enemy: demagogism and special privilege. At this writing Mr. Hughes appears to have carried the State of New York by a plurality of over 50,000 although the rest of the Republican State ticket is in doubt. New York City gives Mr. Hearst a plurality estimated at 75,000; this is 50,000 less than the plurality for Bird S. Coler in 1902 and 5,000 less than the vote for Judge Herrick two years ago. Thus Mr. Hearst has not had the popular support in this normally Democratic city of previous regular candidates of the party. In Massachusetts District Attorney Moran, the so-called Hearst candidate, pursuing Hearst methods, is overwhelmingly defeated. In Illinois and California the so-called Hearst candidates were beaten by a large majority. Governor Utter, the Republican candidate for re-election in Rhode Island, personally trusted and respected, is defeated as a protest against the methods of one of the most flagrant bosses in the United States. In Pennsylvania the Republican machine is on the whole successful, although the general vote indicates a vigorous protest against corruption. In New Jersey the Democrats and Independents have made substantial gains, although a Legislature has been chosen favorable to the re-election of Senator Dryden, generally recognized as a distinctively corporation candidate. The Republicans will have a large majority in both branches of the Sixtieth Congress; in the House of Representatives this majority will be reduced from 112 to somewhere about 70; in the Senate the Republican majority will be, it is expected, 32 as compared with 24 in the Fifty-ninth Congress. Thirty new Senators will be chosen by the State Legislatures. In our judgment, the decisive general indication is that there is a profound National feeling of protest against corrupt and special privilege, an equally profound distrust of the demagogue

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who attempts to use that feeling for selfish purposes, a growing confidence in the power of the independent ballot, and an increasing skill in exercising that power.

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Two Indictments of Mr. Hearst

The most dramatic event of the Hughes-Hearst campaign in New York State was the appearance in Friday morning's papers of last week of indictments of Mr. Hearst and his methods from two sources politically and socially as far apart as the poles—Richard Croker and Elihu Root. Mr. Croker's appeal was to the pecuniary interests of the working classes; Mr. Root's, to the patriotism and public welfare of the Nation. Mr. Croker spoke for as well as to the laboring men in the following sentences:

> I hope the workingmen's organizations will work together and not be misled by wild talk of trusts. The workingmen's organizations are themselves combines and trusts. Tammany is not in favor of trusts. I oppose trusts which would injure the public, but I am in favor of workingmen standing by their employers and encouraging capital to develop and extend labor. If Mr. Hearst wins, and carries out his ideas, he will paralyze labor by forcing capitalists to invest in bonds and stocks instead of labor.

This is an excellent putting of the peril to the wage-earners of the Hearst method of dealing with capitalistic abuses. Mr. Root's indictment of Mr. Hearst was the more effective because so self-restrained. He employed no language that could be called unparliamentary, and he made no accusation that was not substantiated by evidence. The climax of this speech was reached in the deliberate statement, made as from the President and with his authority, putting upon Mr. Hearst the responsibility for the assassination of Mr. McKinley:

> In President Roosevelt's first message to Congress, in speaking of the assassin of McKinley, he spoke of him as inflamed "by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appealed to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent." I say, by the President's authority, that in penning these words, with the horror of President McKinley's murder fresh before him, he had Mr. Hearst specifically in his mind. And I say, by his authority, that what he thought of Mr. Hearst then, he thinks of Mr. Hearst now.

Mr. Root's address was, however, much more than a campaign speech. It included the clearest statement that has yet been made of the perils of monopoly, the difficulties in dealing with it, and the results already accomplished. With this phase of his address The Outlook will deal next week.

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The Indian Trouble

Good management, patience, and military promptness have apparently averted the danger of a conflict between Ute Indians and the settlers in Wyoming, while for a time it even seemed possible that there might be a serious fight between the Indians and the troops. The facts in this case illustrate in an interesting way the difficulty of dealing with some of our Indian wards. As our readers will remember, the Uintah Indian Reservation was thrown open to settlement just about a year ago. The Indians living upon the former reservation were allotted land in severalty, and were told that hereafter they were to be treated, not as a tribe, but as individual citizens. This was not at all pleasing to most of the Indians, because they were for the larger part of the less civilized kind, who wished to live by hunting and who were bitterly opposed to the admission of whites into what had been their reservation. If we remember rightly, of the Uintah reservation about 300,000 acres were to be divided in severalty, and 2,500,000 were to be thrown open to white settlement. Three tribes were concerned. Two of these, the Uintahs and the Uncompahgres, recognized the inevitable, came to understand that laws passed by Congress must be carried out, and took their allotments. The third, the White Rivers, sent a delegation to Washington to protest in every way against the allotment, and finally, this fall, left their reservation in a body, went over into Wyoming, and seemed to have the intention of settling on the Sioux reservation. Their argument was

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plausible and almost amusing. They said that they were now citizens and had the rights of citizens, and among these rights was the liberty to travel wherever they chose. With some difficulty they have been persuaded that neither Indian nor white has the right to go upon the Sioux reservation except as temporary guest of the Sioux, because that reservation has not yet been thrown open to the public. Then they announced that at all events they were not legally obliged to return to what had been their old reservation unless they chose. The statements in the papers that the White Rivers had gone upon the war-path were incorrect; they took with them their wives and children, and in other ways the band, or the most of them, indicated a peaceful intention. The Indian Commissioner sent a diplomatic envoy, skilled in dealing with Indians, to them, and this envoy persuaded part of them to return. The rest, despite their probable peaceful intentions, constituted a real danger, because a single act of violence on the part of an ungovernable Indian or of a lawless white might have precipitated a serious conflict. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Government found it necessary for the public safety to call upon the War Department, which acted with the utmost promptness and effectiveness. On Saturday of last week despatches from Wyoming announced that Colonel Rodgers had persuaded the Indians to enter into an agreement by which they were to go with the Utes to Fort Meade, South Dakota, and there be taken care of by the Government, while two of their chiefs, who rejoice in the picturesque names of Red Cap and Black Whiskers, should go to Washington and have a friendly talk with President Roosevelt. It is said that for two nights and one day one squadron of troops, separated from the main body, were secreted in the hills, and were in serious danger of being "wiped out" by the Indians, as was General Custer's force, had the Indians decided to fight. The incident emphasizes the necessity of dealing with Indians with careful forethought as to the effect of sudden changes in their status, and the necessity of wise and patient efforts, when such change is necessary, to make them understand that the Government will carefully guard their interests and, when possible, take into account their prejudices and established customs.

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Professor Burgess in Berlin

Professor Burgess, Dean of Columbia University, the first incumbent of the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship of American History at the University of Berlin, has aroused a small excitement in both German and American newspapers by his reported declaration in his opening lecture concerning the Protective Tariff and the Monroe Doctrine. After explaining that one object of the appointment of an American professor to give lectures in foreign universities was to make "it possible to subject questions of the highest importance, which can scarcely be touched upon in a diplomatic way, to the most fundamental examination and the most friendly consideration," he went on to say:

> There are, for example, two doctrines in the policy of the United States which are regarded almost as holy doctrines, the discussion of which may not even be proposed by a foreign Power without risk of awaking hostility in the United States. These are the high protective tariff theory and the Monroe Doctrine. Our politicians do not appear to have the least notion that both of these doctrines are almost obsolete, and that the reconstruction of European States and their Constitutions, and the acceptance by the United States itself of its position as a world Power, have made them appear nearly useless.

The notion in certain quarters that there is anything undiplomatic in this utterance, or that the President or the people of the United States are in any way committed by it, is a very curious one. The object for which this lectureship was established was to secure an academic and undiplomatic freedom of discussion of American topics in a foreign forum. If we rightly comprehend Professor Burgess, we do not agree with him; but he went to Berlin to tell German students what he thought, not what he thought other people thought he ought to think. The Outlook desires to see the freest possible trade between the nations of the earth, and believes that the moral evils

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of our high protective tariff far outweigh any economic advantages; nevertheless it appears to us that high protection is far from obsolete in America, and that there are signs of its adoption in other countries. The Outlook realizes that the original reasons for the Monroe Doctrine no longer exist; but we do not believe, and we do not think the American people believe, that it is "nearly useless." Originated to enable the United States to protect itself from European aggression, it remains to enable us to protect our weaker neighbors from European aggression. Self-defense invented it; chivalry maintains it. And present colonial administration in Africa does not indicate that analogous colonial authority in South America would be for the benefit of the American population.

❀

The American Flag Farthest North

Commander Peary's despatch from the Far North, while necessarily brief, is packed full of incidents of courage, endurance, and achievement. While his hope of absolutely attaining the North Pole has failed because of frightful weather and impossible conditions of ice and snow, Commander Peary has advanced the record of "Farthest North" to the latitude of 87° 6′; or, expressed in another way, he has come within about two hundred miles of the Pole itself. This is about thirty-eight miles north of the point reached by Captain Cagni, of the Duke of the Abruzzi's expedition of the year 1900, and about fifty-nine miles beyond Nansen's record of 1895. Every American will feel a glow of hearty satisfaction, not merely that in this international contest to achieve a victory over the elements the American flag has the lead, but also because Commander Peary's persistent and brave efforts, repeated in no less than nine expeditions, have at last been crowned with a success which, if not theoretically complete, is at least an advance upon everything heretofore attained in this generous rivalry. The despatch, which came by way of Labrador and Newfoundland, shows that the final dash for the Pole in sledges began in February last. The advance was delayed, first by open water, and, after the high altitude of 85° had been attained, by a fierce gale which broke up the ice, destroyed the caches, cut off Mr. Peary's communication with the supporting bodies of men and provisions he had left in his rear, and drove the expedition east when it should have gone north. Nevertheless, the drifting evidently included a certain northward motion, as the highest altitude was attained during this drifting season. The straitened conditions of the expedition are shown by the fact that its members were obliged to eat eight of their dogs, and when they reached the coast of Greenland they were saved only by finding musk oxen. The supporting parties were driven on the north coast of Greenland, and one was rescued by Mr. Peary in a starving condition. The despatch concludes with these words: "Homeward voyage incessant battle with ice, storms, and head-winds. Roosevelt magnificent ice fighter and sea boat. No deaths or illness in expedition."

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The Value of Arctic Exploration

It has long since been frankly recognized by explorers (and has been said in so many words by Commander Peary) that there is no great advantage to the world to be obtained by planting foot on the exact spot where latitude ceases. All the fields of Arctic geography, meteorology, electric polarity, ice conditions, and zoölogy have now been pretty thoroughly observed and the results recorded; and while the Far North may still have secrets to give up, they will not be found at the point two hundred miles north of that reached by Peary, but more probably about the coasts further south, which have not yet been finally mapped out. But it must be remembered that the knowledge already obtained has largely been gained incidentally through the search for the Pole, and that to the rivalry in Polar exploration the world is immensely indebted for information already accumulated. Furthermore, there is something in the bold audacity of the undertaking that excites the admiration of mankind. No one, for instance, can read Dr. Nansen's thrilling story of suf-

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fering, endurance, and effort without believing that his narrative will for all time be an incitement and stimulant to manly bravery and to steadfast purpose. Among these explorers Commander Peary is entitled to a very high place. He has had a theory of exploration, carefully thought out, and has adhered to it in the face of lack of adequate financial support, of every possible misadventure that the fierce Arctic region could hurl upon him, and of personal suffering over and over again experienced to what seemed to be the limit of human endurance. In general, Commander Peary's theory has been that, before an attack could be made on the Pole, the leader of an expedition should spend many months, perhaps two years or more, among the Eskimo tribes in the Far North, should win their confidence, should know them so well that he could select the most trustworthy and bravest for his assistants, and should then proceed north with a considerable body of Eskimos and dogs, should establish stations and perhaps live at them for some time, should accumulate stores at the stations, and finally should make a dash for the Pole with very few men but with a carefully prepared reserve to fall back upon. Before he left New York for the present expedition, Commander Peary stated his intention to remain in winter quarters three hundred and fifty miles north of Cape Sabine until February first of this year (which is precisely what he did), and then, with Eskimos and only two white men, one of whom should be a physician, begin the five-hundred-mile journey from headquarters to the Pole. He proposed to take a sledge for each Eskimo, with from six to eight dogs to each sledge, which should carry five hundred pounds of dog food, ship biscuits, and tea. Beyond these absolute essentials and a pocket sextant and chronometer, he proposed to take practically nothing. "I will give the Pole the hardest try it has had yet," were the words used by Commander Peary as he started. That he has carried out his promise is now fully evident, and the world, which loves a brave man and is fascinated by the spirit of adventure and exploration, will honor him accordingly.

The American Civic Association

Niagara preservation and the restriction of billboards were the dominating topics of the annual meeting of the American Civic Association at Milwaukee. President McFarland in his annual address detailed the progress that had been made in the campaign for the preservation of Niagara, with the co-operation of the people and the press of the country. He dwelt upon the fact, as did other speakers, that the Burton Act of June 29 expressly recognized the obligation of the United States Government "to preserve the scenic grandeur" of the Falls. President McFarland declared, however, that, notwithstanding all effort and all this preliminary success, the great cataract is yet in danger. Every power development that was proceeding is proceeding, for the men who believe in commercializing Niagara Falls are confident that they will be able to break down the opposition and eventually secure very handsome profits on their investment. There is but one safety, and that is to persist in the demand for an international treaty. A letter received October 22 from Secretary Root does not show an encouraging state of affairs, for he advises that, although negotiations for the preservation of Niagara Falls were begun between Mr. Hay and the British Ambassador in 1904, yet no further progress has been made than to refer the matter to the International Waterways Commission for the ascertainment and agreement upon the facts forming the necessary basis for any possible treaty. It is thus obvious that there must be a much more urgent demand for the treaty both in the United States and in Canada. This demand should be brought to bear upon both Governments involved while yet the sentiment for the preservation of the Falls is fully alive and active. The Secretary of the Association, Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, in his annual address asked, "What has the scenery done to Americans that we should deface it on every hand, that we should despoil it in every direction?" The railway from Philadelphia to New York has often been described as a thin alleyway of billboards. Round about every great

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city we find the approaches "cluttered up" in the worst possible way with objectionable signs. Our parks are likewise surrounded so that a beautiful vista often ends in an advertising device. Not even Niagara itself, with all its unparalleled grandeur, is free from this sort of spoliation.

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The Public Taste in Architecture

Another topic which came up for extended discussion was that of the right of the public to determine the height, character, and style of buildings. The right of the individual to exclusive control over his building operations, Professor Frederick D. Mann, of St. Louis, maintained, ends with the building's interior arrangement and its utilitarian function. In its exterior expression of beauty or ugliness the public has a rightful share. Each work of architecture is a lasting monument and a public one in the sense that one of its functions is to adorn a public thoroughfare. It is destined to become a perpetual elevating influence if beautiful, and a constant debasing influence and menace to public taste if ugly. Hence in his building enterprise the individual incurs a grave responsibility to the public, one demanding serious consideration, not only by the individual himself, but by the public as well, that it may safeguard good taste and stimulate the pride of the people in their city. There was practical unanimity on the part of the Association that the public had a right to determine for its own benefit and protection the style and character of buildings, a position that was reinforced by the experience of New York with its Municipal Art Commission, which was described at considerable length by Dr. John Quincy Adams, onetime Secretary of the Commission. Mr. Fielding J. Stilson, of Los Angeles, treated the same general topic from a somewhat different point of view and in the light of the experience of San Francisco. In his paper on "Civic Beauty and Civic Safety" he contended that the two must go hand in hand with the development of our municipalities, and that the ideal city of the twentieth century is going to be one which contains both of these elements. Mr. Stilson pointed out that San Francisco was saved from total destruction because of the width of Van Ness Avenue, a magnificent boulevard of imposing length and breadth. It was Mr. Stilson's opinion, based upon personal observation, that the safety of a city will be greatly increased if it has two wide boulevards, running at right angles, of at least one hundred and fifty feet in width, a position which was reinforced by ex-Mayor Phelan's paper on "What San Francisco is Doing to Rehabilitate Itself."

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Popular Art Education

The co-operation of Harvard University, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and Simmons College, for the purpose of inspiring a love of art by competent interpretation of works of art, is a very promising experiment and a welcome indication of the growing love of beauty in this country and of the desire for opportunities for the education of taste. "The Committee for the Utilization of Museums of Art by Schools and Colleges" proposes to arrange for two groups of lectures, specially prepared for teachers; one group presenting, by very competent men but in an untechnical way, the general principles of the arts, with special emphasis on the æsthetic elements, and the other group dealing with specific periods of art from a historical point of view. The lectures in the first group, six in number, are to be given by men of the highest position and authority. Mr. John La Farge will discuss painting and the minor arts; Mr. W. P. P. Longfellow, architecture; Mr. Santayana, sculpture; Professor Warren, of Harvard University, will answer the question, "What May the Schools do to Advance the Understanding of Art?" and Mr. Sargent, of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts, will present the subject of "Museums of Art and the Public Schools." The success of this experiment will be watched with a great deal of interest; for the endeavor to popularize art by making its examples accessible, either in the original or in artistic reproductions, has in many cases failed for lack of education on the part of those

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for whose benefit these movements have been made. The writer of these lines happened to be in the Tate Gallery in London one morning when a group of small and very unpromising boys were brought in by a teacher. They looked like extremely dull city children. Their attention was specially directed to the pictures of George Watts, and they stood for some time examining those beautiful examples of symbolic art. The teacher gave no explanation, but he was overheard saying, "Now, boys, look sharp; I want you to write about these pictures." One could easily imagine the sort of things the boys would say. Loan exhibitions have often been set up in school-houses, and school-children have been taken in great numbers to art museums and to collections of pictures. All this is in the right direction, but in many cases it is premature; for some education in the principles and history of art must precede an understanding and enjoyment of works of art. The Boston Committee, instead of educating the children, proposes to educate the teachers, which is putting the horse before the cart, where it belongs. If the experiment is successful, it will undoubtedly be repeated in other cities, and Boston will add another to the many services she has rendered to education in America.

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Mexico's Latest Achievement

Last week President Diaz, of Mexico, formally opened the Tehuantepec Railway. The event marks the completion of the plan first proposed by Cortez four hundred years ago, when he wrote to the king of Spain concerning the feasibility of a canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific by this route, though he little dreamt of a railway. After various attempts at canal-digging and railway-building had been made, the two were united by our own Captain Eads in his ingenious scheme for a ship railway, which, however, was finally discarded. The railway now completed was taken in hand in 1898 by an English firm, and has a necessary length of one hundred and ninety miles, though, as the bird flies, the isthmus is only one hundred and twenty-five miles across. On the Atlantic coast the mouth of the Coatzacoalos River forms a natural harbor; on the Pacific it has been necessary to construct a harbor at Salina Cruz. The railway, which crosses the mountains over seven hundred feet above sea level, is standard gauge, built with eighty-pound steel rails, and crosses steel bridges. The locomotives and rolling stock represent the best equipment. The working capital was supplied jointly by the Mexican Government and the contracting firm. For a period of thirty-six years the surplus is to be distributed, sixty-five per cent. to the Government and thirty-five per cent. to the contractor; after that the Government's share increases gradually. The enterprise is remarkable both in its national and international aspects. As to the first, it demonstrates anew the persistency of purpose which the Mexican Government, under the leadership of President Diaz, has shown in other great undertakings, especially in draining the City of Mexico of its pestilential waters. It also presages important national development. Mexico will now enter upon a series of trade treaties with the Pacific countries of South America, with the double purpose of securing some of their traffic for international transit and of expanding her own commerce. Internationally, the railway's influence should be quickly felt throughout the world; first of all by us at the Gulf and Atlantic ports, on the Isthmus of Panama, and in the Hawaiian Islands. From our eastern and southern ports it should now be possible to ship to the Pacific and to Asia at far less expense than hitherto. Though the Panama Canal will eventually be a much greater factor in the situation, pending the completion of that undertaking we should welcome the Tehuantepec route as a means of taking care of the overflow traffic, which can hardly longer be carried by the Panama Railway, because of the necessity of using the facilities for the canal's construction work. Finally, the American Hawaiian Steamship Company, handling a quarter of a million tons of the Hawaiian sugar crop, is to operate a triangular line of steamers touching at San Francisco, Salina Cruz, and Hawaiian points. The change in the

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shipping of sugar will doubtless be followed by changes in the shipping of other products from other countries. Hence, as a means of facilitating international traffic, the Tehuantepec railway should become a factor of prime importance, reflecting credit on Mexico and her vigorous President.

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Church and State in Spain

If Signor Fogazzaro's novel, "Il Santo," interprets the mind of liberal Roman Catholics in Italy, Señor Galdós's "Electra" interprets the mind of liberal Roman Catholics in Spain. The Spanish writer, like the equally distinguished Italian, wishes to preserve the Church but would make it harmonize with the times. Both men would restrain the Church's undue influence on secular life, and, in especial, would check the growth of reactionary monasticism. Their influence was noted last week when the Spanish Cortés, or Parliament, reassembled, and the present Liberal Government, led by Prime Minister Dominguez, crossed swords with the clericals. While the Liberal programme is not so drastic as that in France, it is distinctly anti-clerical, and, if it proceeds to a successful issue, will undoubtedly, as in France, lead to some severance of the ancient ties that have bound the Vatican to nations both of which are nominally overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. The questions most discussed in Spain are those of civil marriages, the municipal control of public cemeteries, the emancipation of the schools from monastic teaching, and a State registration of all monastic orders. Up to 1868 the Roman Catholic religion was the only religion tolerated in Spain. That revolutionary year, however, brought liberty of thought, meeting, the press, education, and burial—a régime which continued for seven years, when the Bourbon restoration effected a reaction. The following year the Constitution adopted by the Cortés gave back its privileges to the Roman Catholic Church, re-establishing it as the State religion and granting to it a large influence in education. But the Liberals, under Sagasta's able guidance, and profiting by his several terms as Prime Minister, gradually regained a majority of the liberties introduced by the revolution of 1868. Though marriages between Roman Catholics in church must be registered in the civil register to have legal validity, the position of the Roman Catholic Church is that civil unions are legal only when celebrated according to canon law. As to burials, the Church opposes municipal control of cemeteries, and demands that the practice of allotting parts of the cemeteries to non-Catholic Spaniards and foreigners shall be discontinued. The Government has now carried the war into the enemy's camp in the matter of education also, and has decreed that the primary and secondary schools in Spain shall forward to the Ministry within a month a list of all non-official educational establishments not legally authorized. Of course this decree is aimed principally at the schools kept by the religious "congregaciones," or, as we should say, monastic orders, with their more than five thousand teachers. Finally, the Government announces that it intends to make all religious associations amenable to a new associations law. Under any circumstances such a law would have ample reason for being. It is doubly necessary at present when one considers the number of religious orders expelled from France and now settled in Spain. In these four issues the Cabinet has the unanimous support of Spanish Liberals and Republicans.

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The Canadian and English Labor Parties

The recent convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at Victoria, British Columbia, interests students of politics and economics, not only in Canada, but also in England and in this country. The resolution to attract the widest attention sets forth the firm intention of the Congress to take independent political action in future elections. In conjunction with the success of the Labor party in the recent British elections, and the pronouncement by the American Federation of Labor with regard to politics in the United States, the passing of this resolution is significant—yet of the greater significance in that the Socialist element, a power in British Columbia, tried to secure control of the Congress, but

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was overwhelmingly defeated. The new Labor party adopted the following planks in its platform: Free compulsory education; a legal eight-hour day, with six days to the week; Government inspection of all industries; the abolition of the contract system on public works; a minimum living wage based on local conditions; public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs, and water-works; taxation reform; a lessening of the impost on industrial and an increasing of the burden on land values; abolition of child and female labor in mines, workshops, factories, etc.; Chinese exclusion; union labels on manufactures and all governmental and municipal supplies; abolition of the Dominion Senate; abolition of the property qualification for public office; voluntary arbitration in labor disputes; proportional representation, with grouped constituencies; direct legislation through the initiative or the referendum; prohibition of prison labor in competition with free labor; and State insurance for old age and sickness. The course of the Labor party in Canada, as of the Labor party in England, will now be watched with double interest. The latter party, as The Outlook chronicled last week, shows signs of the serious strain which has been upon it ever since the general elections in Great Britain. Its two divisions—the Liberal-Laborites and the Independents—seem to be drifting further and further apart. Of the first the leader is Mr. John Burns, now President of the Local Government Board in the Liberal Cabinet; of the second the leader is Mr. Keir Hardie. The last named has been moving too rapidly toward Socialist ideals for his party's political good, according to Mr. Lloyd-George, President of the Board of Trade, himself a man of advanced opinions on social and labor questions. In a speech not long ago the Minister advised workingmen to cast Socialist doctrines to the winds; he reminded them that, with the aid of the Liberal party, Labor is a potential political force, but that without Liberalism it will doom itself to sterility. If all the working classes in England could be banded into one compact, homogeneous body, such an organization would, as Mr. Lloyd-George says, be all-powerful. But as they have to reckon with the conflicts among the labor interests and with personal and sectional rivalries, he, for one, did not expect to see within a generation a party in power pledged to the forcible nationalization of the land, railways, quarries, factories, and every agency for the production and distribution of wealth. It will be interesting to see whether the Labor party in Canada will ultimately divide itself into two sections, as has the Labor party in England.

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A Famous French Visitor

Camille Saint-Saëns, whose genius, achievements, and influence upon his art give him without question a clear title to the distinction of being the greatest living French musician, is now visiting the United States. His first public appearance in this country was at a concert in Carnegie Hall of the New York Symphony Orchestra, under the conductorship of Mr. Walter Damrosch, last Saturday evening. The compositions which he elected to perform for his first American audience were very much below the standards prevailing at the best symphonic concerts of New York, Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, or Pittsburg. In spite, however, of the disappointing nature of his first concert, the visit of M. Saint-Saëns is a noteworthy musical event. To have made the voyage of the Atlantic at seventy-one years of age and to brave the fatigues and trials of the concert hall at a time when he has well earned comfort and ease indicate that the dean of French music appreciates the growth of intellectual and artistic sympathy between America and Europe. It was not only as a tribute to his personality, but also as a recognition of what M. Saint-Saëns's trip involved for him, that the large audience and the orchestra united in giving him an enthusiastic greeting. Whatever limitations may be displayed in the concerts at which he appears, it must not be forgotten that M. Saint-Saëns is a musician whose genius has been exercised in many directions and has created many works of lasting character. He is not only a piano virtuoso, but also an organist of

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great ability. He is one of the very few French composers who has mastered all the various forms of musical composition. In chamber-music, in orchestral compositions, in vocal works of great magnitude, and in opera he has achieved distinction. As a critical writer upon music he has also exerted no small influence, and both by his writings and his compositions he has put his weight upon the side of sanity and wholesomeness.

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An Open Letter

To the Editor of The Outlook:

In the Springfield Republican of October 23, 1906, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, of Boston, condemned severely the following recent utterance, at Mohonk, by Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of The Outlook:

I believe the proudest chapter in our history is that written by the statesmanship of McKinley, the guns of Dewey, and the administration of Taft. There is nothing to repent, nothing to retract; our duty is to go on and complete the work already so well begun. I do not defend or apologize for what we have done in the Philippines. I glory in it. We must give them a government, not for our benefit, but primarily for the benefit of the Filipinos.

Dr. Abbott glories in the conquest of the Filipinos, to be followed by our dominion over them. Yet the spirit of dominion over others was clearly disapproved by Jesus:

Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so with you.

What is Dr. Abbott's justification for thus glorying in acts which Jesus forbade? This is serious business. The question will doubtless be embarrassing to answer openly. I hope, nevertheless, that The Outlook will not return this letter as "unavailable" for its columns. SAMUEL MILLIKEN.

Philadelphia.

Do you suppose Jesus means to prohibit all governmental authority; that it is contrary to Christ's teaching to have police to keep order in our cities, sheriffs in our counties, Governors and Presidents in the State and the Nation? What Christ forbids is lordship *over* subjects for the benefit of the lords; and he goes on to recognize the reality of greatness and to indicate its test: "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister," that is, servant. I glory in what we have done in the Philippines because it has been distinctly a work, not of an overlord, but of a servant.

We have served the Filipinos in scores of ways. The service has been splendid beyond comparison in the history of nations. By Dewey's victory we delivered an oppressed people from an unendurable misrule, against which they had struggled for centuries in vain. Then we protected the helpless representatives of the oppressors from a barbarous revenge, and the Filipinos from inflicting on themselves the disgrace of an inexpiable crime. Competent judges, resident in Manila at the time of Dewey's victory, testify their belief that if Aguinaldo's forces had been permitted to enter the city, not a Spanish man, woman, or child would have been left alive. We protected person and property then; we have continued since to protect persons and property from the brigandage which has been common in the Philippine archipelago during the centuries of Spanish misrule. We sent one of our ablest Federal judges there to lay in law, carefully framed and organized, the foundations for a new and free civilization. We negotiated, as the Filipinos could not have done, a treaty with the Vatican for the peaceful adjustment of the friar-land problem. We lent them the credit of the American Nation when they had none, and secured the money at less than four per cent. interest for the purchase of the friars' lands. We took those lands not for ourselves but for the Filipinos, and hold them in trust for native purchase and occupation. We put hundreds of soldier teachers at work conducting schools for the common people before civil government was fairly established, and when it was established we planted a public school system throughout the islands—a boon the people had never before possessed. We paid Spain for her own properties—public buildings and public works—for which the Filipinos could not have paid. We helped the natives to organize a system of local governments as a basis for a national government, and, showing these untaught peoples how to govern themselves in their towns and provinces, we prepared them for the larger problem of self-government through a national Congress now soon to be organized. We have *given* them no money; they have paid their own bills and so retained their self-respect. We have *taken* no money

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from them; not a dollar of their taxation has gone to swell our National revenues. There is only one blot on our escutcheon. We have so far refused to open our American markets to their products. The House of Representatives has passed the bill to give to them this privilege. The Senate would have passed it, had not a committee succeeded for the time in suppressing the measure by refusing to allow it to come before the Senate even for discussion. But it will not be long before that blot will be removed.

What I said at Lake Mohonk I repeat here: "I do not defend or apologize for what we have done in the Philippines: I glory in it." Some mistakes have been made; some injustices have been perpetrated. But history affords no more splendid illustration of a great nation earning the right to the title of Christian greatness than is afforded by the story of the United States putting its army, its financial credit, its great statesmen, and its great educators at the service of a poor, oppressed, ignorant, and hitherto despised people, who had neither wealth nor influence with which to repay, and many of whom had not at first the intelligence even to comprehend. L. A.

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Henry Mills Alden

Probably no American of Mr. Henry Mills Alden's quality of nature and mind has been so successful in escaping publicity. Artists and men of letters are held responsible for an absence of privacy and a presence of publicity which are often very distasteful to them and a large price to pay for eminence. No man of force in any art or profession can put his soul into expression and keep the seclusion of obscurity; and the men most talked about are often the men who shrink most sensitively from public discussion. Mr. Alden has escaped the newspaper paragrapher as successfully as any man of his eminence, and has gone his quiet way and done his admirable work without sacrificing that sweetness of life which is hidden in silence and seclusion.

Mr. Alden's career has been a notable illustration of the ability of a man to live his life in his own way in an age and under conditions which seem hostile to the very temper of his mind. For thirty-seven years he has been the editor of Harper's Magazine, and one of the most industrious men in the great establishment in Franklin Square. The elevated trains pass under the windows of the building; the motion of many presses is never suspended; the manifold activities of a vast business go on from morning to night; the coming and going of multitudes of people are unceasing; but Mr. Alden has not only kept a little oasis of silence in the heart of the turmoil, but has dreamed the dream of life, as he has done its work, with a noble constancy of faith and vision. He must have read numberless manuscripts —and no work is more deadening to the imagination; he must have written countless letters; the innumerable worries and toils of a conscientious editor in charge of a very important publication have encompassed him on every side; but he has kept a free spirit, an open mind, and the vision of a seer through them all. The door of the world of the spirit has always opened for him out of his workshop on his busiest day. He has been one of the most tireless workers of his time, and one of its foremost mystics: that tells the story of his remarkable career.

The biographical facts of this career are soon told. Born in Vermont, Mr. Alden went to Williams College at the time when a future editor of the Atlantic Monthly, Mr. Horace E. Scudder, was a student in the institution that was twenty-four years later to graduate Mr. Bliss Perry, the present editor. A course in the Andover Theological Seminary followed, but instead of becoming a minister Mr. Alden became, a little later, managing editor of Harper's Weekly, and, in 1869, editor of Harper's Magazine. His scholarship was early shown in a series of lectures on "The Structure of Paganism," delivered before the Lowell Institute in Boston, and in two articles on "The Eleusinian Mysteries," which appeared in the Atlantic Monthly. Years ago a man of the highest distinction in public life declared that if he could put but a single set of books into a public

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library, he would select the bound volumes of Harper's Magazine; so broadly and fully did that publication cover the field of human interests. Side by side with its fiction, poetry, biography, and essays, it gave special prominence to reports of the latest explorations in all parts of the world and to the most significant discoveries in science; it was, in a word, a monthly library of human thought, activity, and social condition. The work of Mr. Curtis and of Mr. Alden gave it the distinction which inheres in high aim, wide knowledge, and that command of English which is at once the test and the proof of culture.

Since the words of Mr. Adams were spoken or written, Harper's Magazine has seen the field occupied by a host of competitors, and has survived more than one great change in the aims and methods of magazine making; but it has never lost its vitality, variety, and human interest. When the writer of these words made the acquaintance of the magazine, he was a very small boy, and Thackeray's "Virginians" ran so long a course that he supposed it was a regular department like the inimitable "Easy Chair." Mr. Howells continues the tradition of gentle manners and generous culture which Mr. Curtis created, and Mr. Alden still gives the magazine the distinction of his rare fidelity and talent. At the end of thirty-seven years of service as editor, and to-day on his seventieth birthday, which will be duly celebrated by his associates in Franklin Square, he still keeps the faith of his youth and its freshness of spirit.

An admirable critic of the constructive rather than the destructive temper; a charming essayist whose heart is always in his work as it has always been with his friends; an editor whose joy it has been to make room for newcomers with the fresh thought and the vital touch, Mr. Alden's reputation in the future will rest on two books of a kind which made little stir at the moment because they have little to say about the interests of the moment, but have an enduring energy of life because they deal with the immortal in the mortal. "God in His World" and "A Study of Death" have not passed unnoticed even in an age of engrossing toils and tasks; but their rare beauty and penetration still wait for more general and adequate comprehension. They belong with the original literary and spiritual documents of the human spirit, and when the man who wrote them has been forgotten as an editor, he will be remembered as a poet and seer.

Praying and Waiting

It is easy to pray for things but hard to wait for them; and we often rush to the conclusion that because prayers are not answered in a moment they are not answered at all. A little thought would end this kind of skepticism and give us patience to wait on the Lord without repining or sinking of heart. Great blessings sometimes come suddenly, but none before they have been prepared for by some kind of spiritual training; great orators sometimes suddenly come to light in apparently commonplace careers, but not unless there have been rich possibilities hidden beneath the routine of daily work. No man, in any great crisis, shows a gift for speech or action or heroism unless the germs of those things were already in him. Great moments do not put great qualities into the souls of men; they simply reveal what is already there.

The fruits of character cannot be realized until the seeds of nobility have had time to grow; and education of some kind must precede all forms of sustained strength. Weak men have often, by prayer, been made strong in critical moments, but they acquire the habit of strength only by exercise. The weak arm does not become muscular by taking thought, but by taking exercise; the irritable temper is not made sweet by a sudden act of will, but by patient repression of an unhappy tendency; the man of unclean mind is not cleansed because he resolves to be white, but because he forms the habit of purity. We are continually asking God to give us the fruits of character without the discipline of training, not realizing that we are asking him to do for us the work that alone would strengthen our muscles and give us the power we crave. We ask to be

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fed by a miracle instead of tilling the ground, sowing the seed, and reaping the harvest with our own hands, and so getting strength from the soil. He is ready to help us in any time of need, but moral help must be secured by moral exertion; we must not ask God to pauperize us. Men ought to pray every day for sweetness of temper, since the lack of it blights countless homes and neutralizes many noble qualities; but they ought to remember that sweetness is born out of the subjection of strength, the mastery of temper, the control of the tones of voice, and that to gain the blessed gift one must wait on the Lord, and let education give prayer its ultimate effectiveness.

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Democracy in Life Insurance

Under the new life insurance laws policy-holders may vote for an entire new board of trustees in all mutual companies in New York State. The Equitable, being a stock company, does not come under this provision. Practically the great contest which is now interesting the entire country is within the New York Life and the Mutual Life. For the control of these companies there are the following tickets in the field. In the New York Life are two tickets—an administration ticket, nominated by the present Board of Trustees, which consists of the best of the old trustees and a number of new candidates; and an opposition ticket, known as the International Policy-Holders' Committee's ticket. The Hon. Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, is the chairman of the committee offering this ticket, but the real organizer, promoter, and manager of the committee is Mr. Samuel Untermyer, of New York City. In the Mutual Life there are three tickets—the administration ticket, the ticket engineered by the International Committee and known as the United Committee's ticket, and the Fusion ticket. The United Committee's ticket is so named because two groups of policy-holders have joined to form it—the Mutual Policy-Holders' Committee and Mr. Untermyer's International Policy-Holders' Committee. The Fusion ticket is so named because it consists of candidates selected equally from the Administration ticket and the Mutual Committee's ticket. The Fusion ticket is believed to be supported by responsible employees and managers of the Mutual Company, who desire to see some necessary reforms effected. It will thus be seen that Mr. Untermyer is back of and directing the Opposition ticket in the New York Life and the United Committee's ticket in the Mutual Life. As we have already said in The Outlook, if Mr. Untermyer is successful, he will be in moral control of both companies.

In giving to the policy-holders in these companies our counsel, we shall not attempt to answer all the questions, still less all the arguments, presented by the letters of our correspondents published on another page. So far as the arguments are concerned, it must suffice to say that The Outlook has no interest, directly or indirectly, in either of these insurance companies; that if any readers of The Outlook imagine that our editorial opinion is affected by our advertising contracts, he would better disregard our editorial opinion altogether; and that, in our judgment, the principle of mutuality is just as well sustained by voting for an administration ticket as by voting against it: that principle is the right of the policy-holders to determine who shall control the affairs of the company, and this includes the right to intrust that control to those who are already exercising it. It is not, however, our object to advocate any ticket. But, recognizing the natural perplexity of thousands of policy-holders, a perplexity graphically described by one of our correspondents, we have made diligent endeavor to acquaint ourselves with the facts, that we might put our knowledge at the disposal of the policy-holders and give them the benefit of our counsel.

There are three distinct questions respecting the life insurance companies of New York State; they should not be confounded.

First. Have the directors and officers of the insurance companies been guilty

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of any wrong in the past? And if so, to what punishment should they be subjected?

Second. What legislative action is necessary to prevent the perpetration of similar wrongs in the future?

Third. What course should the policy-holders take to protect their present property interests in the company in which they are insured?

I. The answer to the first question is furnished by the following conclusion of the Legislative Investigating Committee, applied by that Committee to the New York Life, but equally applicable to the Mutual Life:

> There is no ground known to the Committee for questioning the soundness of the company. It is absolutely able to meet its engagements, and the serious abuses which have been disclosed have not affected its solvency. As in the cases of other companies, however, increasing volume of assets and magnitude of business are frequently pointed to as sufficient criteria of prosperity without due attention to the importance of economy in administration, and the resultant returns to policy-holders.

It is not true that officers have looted these insurance companies. To loot is "to plunder, sack, or pillage, as a city or dwelling." The officers have not plundered, sacked, or pillaged the insurance companies. The property of the policy-holders is probably as safe as any invested property in the United States. But officers in the insurance companies have in some cases used the power which that property gave them for their own pecuniary benefit, for the corruption of public officials in the supposed interest of the companies, for advancing the interest of political parties, which it was not their function to advance, and there has been extravagance of administration, especially in the payment of salaries. Social punishment has already been inflicted on the prominent offenders. The question how far they have subjected themselves to legal punishment, that is, how far their immoral acts are also illegal acts, must necessarily be left to the courts. The only question for the policy-holder is, "How shall I protect my property interests in the company in which I am insured? If those administrative officers who have directly participated in these wrongs were candidates for re-election, we should advise the policy-holders to vote against them. We do not believe this to be the case. The administration in both the New York Life and the Mutual Life has been changed: in the New York Life radically changed. Those who were directly guilty of the serious abuses have been driven from office. Those directors who there was any reason to believe were cognizant of these abuses and participated in the profits have resigned or been displaced. The question of the policy-holder is not between the old administration and an opposition ticket, but between a new reformed administration and an opposition ticket.

II. What legislative reforms are necessary to protect the policy-holders in the future? The New York legislation has already answered this question. Further legislative reforms may be and probably are necessary. The insurance departments of the several States, certainly the insurance department of New York State, need radical renovation. We believe that the Federal Government should exercise over all life insurance companies a supervision akin to that which it now exercises over all banks. But these questions cannot be determined by the policy-holders. They must be determined primarily by Congress or the State Legislatures; ultimately by the citizens of the United States through their election of Legislatures and Congresses.

III. The immediate question which now confronts the policy-holder is, How shall he conserve his property interests as represented by his policy? If he is a policy-holder in the New York Life Insurance Company, the issue is very simple. Will he intrust his property interests to the administration ticket or to the opposition ticket? If he intrusts it to the administration ticket, he intrusts it to a reorganized Board, purged of its objectionable elements and containing a considerable proportion of men who have had experience in life insurance business, and whose recently elected President, Mr. Alexander E. Orr, a man whose probity has never been questioned, affords a guarantee of its future purpose and policy. If the policy-

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holder intrusts his property to the opposition ticket, he intrusts it to a Board of men inexperienced in life insurance business, to a president and a body of administrative officers to be elected by the Board, consisting of men, however honorable and able, certainly unknown and untried in the insurance field. This ticket has been engineered by Mr. Samuel Untermyer, who, to speak with the utmost reserve, has a reputation as a lawyer and a financier very different from that of Mr. Orr and of Mr. Peabody. Under these circumstances The Outlook advises the policy-holder in the New York Life Insurance Company to intrust his property to the reform administration by voting for the administration ticket. He can be sure that his property will be safe in their hands. He cannot have the same assurance in intrusting it to an untried and unknown administration.

Although in the case of the Mutual Life the issue is not so simple, the same principles apply.

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The Rejected Immigrant

Unless the United States returns to the primitive practice of admitting all aliens to its shores without restriction, there will continue to be enacted what Mr. Brandenburg in his recent article in The Outlook called "The Tragedy of the Rejected Immigrant." That the United States will ever return to that practice no one imagines. It is therefore morally certain that many men, women, and children attempting to land will be doomed to disappointment. It remains for the American people so to frame the laws that the tragedy will be minimized. We cannot disregard the human element in the immigration problem, for in this matter we are dealing not with an abstract economic question but with multitudes of human beings. We must so protect ourselves as to cause the immigrants applying for admission the least possible distress. This is the desire of the present administrators of the immigration laws. Commissioner Williams brought the Immigration Service at Ellis Island to a high state of efficiency. He introduced better standards of cleanliness, encouraged the human treatment of immigrants, and afforded them more ample protection against fraud. The present Commissioner, Mr. Watchorn, whose valuable contribution to the discussion of this subject will be found on another page, has still further improved the service. Once an immigrant himself, he knows at first hand the mental attitude of the people who are in his charge, and is able to deal with them sympathetically. Of one thing the American people can be confident—the tragedy of the rejected immigrant is not to be ascribed to the administration of the laws. This is made clear by the group of articles printed elsewhere in this issue.

The tragedy involved in the rejection of an immigrant is due, first, to the ignorance of the immigrant himself. So far as this is true, this tragedy cannot be greatly relieved. If an immigrant who is suffering from a contagious disease which the law is designed to exclude from the country does not know that he has the disease, or is not informed that the United States bars out those that suffer from it, he is bound to be disappointed when he encounters the medical inspectors. The United States cannot lay pavements of gold because ignorant foreigners set sail with the expectation of picking up nuggets in the street; neither can it endanger the health of its own population because ignorant foreigners bearing contagious diseases will be disappointed if they are sent home again. Nor can the Federal Government undertake to educate the inhabitants of foreign countries. All it can do is to publish the terms on which it accepts visitors, and put those terms within the reach of as many of those who intend to migrate to America as it can. It already does this in a measure by making the steamship companies agents of warning to those who through ill health are clearly not admissible. It might do still more by requiring the steamship companies to extend the warning to other inadmissible aliens, and by establishing a Bureau of Information which would deal with the immigrants directly. To the former plan no reasonable objection has been raised;

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to the latter plan the only weighty objection is that raised by Mr. Hall in his article on another page, namely, that it might tend somewhat to increase the numbers of immigrants. This, however, is not an unanswerable objection. The serious evil in our present immigration is not in its quantity, but in its character and in its concentration at a few congested centers of population. A bureau of information, even if it stimulated immigration, would be justified provided it raised the quality of those who applied for admission and secured a more wholesome distribution of those who landed. In general, however, the ignorance of the foreigner must be accepted as an unchangeable fact, for which the United States must pay in trouble and expense of inspection and detention, and the foreigner himself must pay in disappointment and some measure of hardship.

The tragedy of the rejected immigrant is due, in the second place, to the enterprise—or, to give it a stronger term, the rapacity—of the steamship companies. Eager to increase their business, they drum up passengers, crowd them upon their vessels, and naturally take every practicable measure for securing their admission to America. They are now held responsible for accepting as passengers persons in a recognizable stage of any disease which entails exclusion, but they are not held responsible for accepting paupers and other dependent or irresponsible persons. These companies ought not to be allowed to bring across the ocean people who will, when they arrive, inevitably be rejected. The United States has an entire right to declare that the steamship companies shall not make money out of a business which is detrimental to the country. The law, which has already made it the financial interest of these companies to co-operate with the Government in excluding undesirable immigrants of one sort, ought to make it their financial interest to aid the Government in its effort to prevent the landing of undesirable immigrants of all sorts. Mr. Hall has outlined the provisions of bills now before Congress. More important than any of these provisions would be a measure putting squarely upon the steamship companies the responsibility which the United States has a right to require them to bear. If these companies knew that every immigrant clearly ineligible for admission were to be sent back across the ocean at their expense, they would see to it that such immigrants would be saved an unnecessary and perhaps tragic voyage. The inspection to which they would subject persons applying for passage at European ports would save the overworked Government inspectors on this side much of the labor which they are now required to perform.

There are many people intimately acquainted with the problems of immigration who believe that this requirement would be sufficient. The Outlook believes that, though such an inspection by the steamship companies ought to be required, it would not be adequate. It is never wise for government to rely upon private interests to do its work for it. Governmental inspection ought to be carried on upon the other side of the ocean. It is true that there are some countries, Belgium for example, that object to the presence of American immigration officers on their territory. Whether this objection can be overruled by diplomatic negotiations we do not know; but we do not see why it could not be made null and void by the same method which deprived of all force the objection of beef packers to the presence of governmental officials in their plants. We do not see why a law might not be passed excluding from the ports of the United States all immigrants unless they bear a certificate signed by an American official at the point of embarkation. If Belgium then preferred to maintain what it regards as its dignity, and lose its trade in transmission of immigrants to America, we do not believe there would be any objection raised in this country. Both for the sake of the immigrant whose remaining years may be clouded by a fruitless trip to this country, and for the sake of the United States, which cannot adequately determine the eligibility of immigrants after they are concentrated in a great mass at practically one point on the Atlantic coast, the measure most urgently needed for the improvement of our immigration laws is one

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which will transfer to the other side of the Atlantic the principal scrutiny of those who are seeking to become Americans.

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The Spectator

Sitting upon his own piazza, which purists call veranda, the Spectator happened to look aloft. Against the sky a black dot stood out as if poised in space, and abruptly put a period to the Spectator's ruminations or lucubrations—a period so fully stopping them that to this moment he cannot tell which word best fits them. They fled like Miss Muffett.

❀

The living point of punctuation was a spider. Upside down, in her characteristic, topsy-turvy fashion, she hung upon a web strung from the roof the Spectator calls his own, possessing it, enjoying its usufruct, and troubling herself in no wise about his right of eminent domain. The web was finished; but the spider began, all unwittingly, to spin in the Spectatorial brain a thinner, weaker, and far less useful mesh. The old human disease known as "I-wonder-why?" had seized the Spectator, and, quite as much in accord with his own nature as the spider with hers, the Spectator drew out the filaments from his brain-spinneret, and, attaching them lightly here and there, extended them in a more or less regular pattern about Madame Arachne as a center.

❀

The Spectator confesses to a fondness for these little Websters. He has watched them many a time and oft, hesitating between interest and mercy, as the brave retiarius made intrepid charges against some Shake-spear of the Vespa family. Whether to release the wasp or to let the spider have her prey has too often been debated in the Spectator's soul. For it seems a moral question going deep down to the roots of the great world-tree—too big a debate to be here even entered upon. Besides, it was not a metaphysical web that the Spectator was constructing. He looked upon a motionless spider, questioning evolution. He wondered how it came about that this branch of the insect world (though not so classified) could in no-matter-how-many geological ages have come to its way of predatory life. He does not hesitate, as a mere Spectator, to confess that he dragged his encyclopædia from its lair and delved deep in its lore, with the hope of some clue to the spider-web. There was information in large lumps, but it was such as the needle and microscope furnished, not such as the Spectator sought. There was no hint of how the web began, long before Lady Cob owned a parlor into which Sir Fly might be invited.

❀

How did cobwebs begin? Many more or less distant kin to the spider are spinners. Caterpillars and their cousinry spin cocoons; but it is for their own vacations, wherein to sleep the sleep that knows a waking. Did the spiders accidentally find this silky nest a snare that gave them food? Did they make traps of their cradles?—and end by making cradles of their traps?

❀

Fearing that Darwin might have closed this field of speculation, the Spectator examined the "Origin of Species," but it contains nothing beyond the remark that the "spiders hardly undergo any metamorphosis." So we must make our own guesses. If the spider gave up the cocoon, using her blanket to make a snare, how was she able to escape the stage through which others of a similar rank in life had to pass?

❀

We live in a world apart from the greater part of our fellow-creatures on the globe, and yet we are content to interpret them in our own language. They have no real brain, apparently, yet we give them in our thoughts emotions like our own. Love, hatred, fear, hope, ingenuity, industry—all these and more do nature students ascribe to beings that in all probability possess none of the list. We cannot read one another's minds, and we try to read the nervous ganglia of insects! The Spectator has heard the study of science declared likely to suppress the imaginative fac-

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ulty, and he cannot suppress a smile as he glances up to his book-shelf where Maeterlinck's "Honey Bee" stands near Langstroth, who tells us of Huber, the blind naturalist. And he recalls our own Dr. McCook, the authority on spiders, who wrote a charming fairy story describing a warfare of many campaigns between a race of fairies and all the allied species of spiders.

❀

The Spectator wonders, as he is carried through the crowded city streets in the strenuous, grinding trolley, whether there is more to be learned from seeing many things or seeing few. After all, it is an idle question, for there can be no comparison of infinities. Recently the Spectator took the steamer trip known as "Seeing New York," and had some idea of writing about it. But the spider against the sky seems to have shut out the whole of Manhattan Island, towering buildings, busy wharves, opulent yachts, recreation piers, and all. He believes that the spider race will, for some good purpose, outlast the city and its millions, as they have already survived Babylon, in change unchanged. The warfare of man against the big animals is won, and he no longer cowers behind his ring of fire, peering fearfully into the night. But his warfare against the small is hardly begun.

❀

The Spectator, when in the country, finds nothing more wonderful than the pervasiveness of tiny life. Every square and cubic foot is the world of some small creatures who live with an intensity of purpose that makes mankind seem trifiers. They live in endless excitement, in a fierce competition, a seeking, finding, or losing, that comes to none of our race. They seem to ignore all creation save their own small affairs, and to pursue these more eagerly, without motive, than we pursue ours under the highest stimulus.

❀

The spider is not the least interesting creature of this great alien world, and the Spectator is perhaps more puzzled by it than by any. Other creatures for the most part shun mankind. Flies, ants, bees, wasps, make their abiding-places or their haunts where they may hope to escape observation or repel attack. But the spider advertises herself, and abandons her laboriously constructed home when attacked. She seems to take the risks of her business as philosophically as if she had a brain and a theory of life. The Spectator could tell his readers many interesting facts about spiders in various parts of the world, but it would all be second-hand information—and of that there is too much in the books already. He prefers to see for himself common facts—which are never common—rather than to misrepresent others' views of facts more uncommon. He has just made a journey to the other end of his piazza—the spider lives at the East End, and this is written at the more aristocratic West End—to see her who inspired these lines. Viewing Lady Arachne from the other side, not against the sky, she is seen to be arrayed in a most delightful brown study—a costume like the crust of a well-baked loaf of bread. She permitted the Spectator to bring his face within some sixteen inches, and remained unmoved, though some of her many eyes must have seen him. Why wasn't she afraid? To her and her house the Spectator contained potentialities of destruction as great and irresistible as those the earthquake held for San Francisco. Was she simply stupid, or did she recognize the Spectator as one who had already sat harmlessly without the unsocial circle of her airy web? She would run or drop at the end of her life-line if the Spectator should come too near; but how she measures the dangerous distance none knows. Certainly by no good rule—in spite of all her ages of race-experience—for the Spectator was well within striking distance, even if he chose not to strike. Fortunately, she has chosen a safe household, one that is a sworn enemy to flies, and she is welcome to all she may catch, without claim of rental or of tribute on the part of the Spectator or his co-dwellers. We do not understand each other, but the Spectator, at least, is interested in the little tenant who hangs upside down, and who (for aught the Spectator knows) may in his turn wonder that *he* prefers to remain upside up.

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THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

"The Tragedy of the Rejected Immigrant," by Mr. Broughton Brandenburg, which was published in The Outlook for October 13, has attracted wide attention. The question of how the people and Government of the United States shall deal with the flood of immigrants pouring in upon our shores is not only one of great political and social importance, but has a human and dramatic interest which Mr. Brandenburg's paper and the criticisms upon it bring out very distinctly. The following articles discuss various aspects of this question—personal, administrative, and legislative. The Outlook considers Mr. Brandenburg's paper of great value, aside from any questions of statistics and remedies, in that it has served as the occasion and text of an illuminating and instructive debate by experts whose experience and authority entitle them to the careful and thoughtful attention of our readers. The views of The Outlook are expressed editorially on another page.—THE EDITORS.

I.—FROM AN IMMIGRANT

BY WILLIAM J. KERR

IT was with no small measure of surprise that I, a regular reader of your instructive magazine, perused Mr. Broughton Brandenburg's article in The Outlook of October 13. Will you allow me, as an immigrant, who of course came under the examinations necessary for gaining admission to this country, to make a few brief observations on the immigration question, with particular reference to your contributor's article?

America has endless resources. It offers unequaled opportunities to the European (and other) immigrants. In every department of industry and business the development and consequent demand for workers are increasing. The country gives to its citizens absolute freedom, civil and religious. In the last analysis it must be admitted that this is what attracts the immigrant to its shores.

Immigration laws and restrictions have a twofold nature. They compel an examination into the moral character of the immigrant, and they enforce examination of his physical and mental condition.

Mr. Brandenburg's article appears to me to be a sustained attack on the present immigration laws, as they affect immigrants admittedly physically and mentally unfit. He places on the shoulders of those responsible for the formulation of these restrictive measures the entire blame for the wrecking of families and for the pauperizing of many individuals who, tested by these restrictive laws, have been deported. Let me, therefore, submit a few remarks on the specific cases adduced by your contributor. And I assert that he has not in a single instance made good his contention that the immigration restrictions at present operative are anomalous, unreasonable, or otherwise worse than they might be.

In the first case mentioned the facts are these: An old woman leaves her home to sail for America. She is in absolute ignorance of the customs requirements, immigration rules, etc. She has had no communication from her relatives in this country. Her passage absorbs all her money. She cannot speak English. Arrived at this side, she is detained pending a search for her friends. Of these, one cannot be found, one is unable to keep her, and the third is already "a public charge." She thus bids fair to be "a public charge" also. Will your contributor assert that it was any more the duty of America to charge itself with the care of this woman than it was that of Germany, from which she came? And can he further estimate the undoubted influence that her admission as a public charge would have had upon others in her home land in the direction of inducing them to take her as a good "precedent," though perhaps not in such a destitute condition? The fact that she set out in such woeful ignorance, without advice, money, or promise of assistance, and had therefore to be deported, cannot be set down as a crime chargeable

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to those who, after years of experience and thought, have laid down the immigration regulations as representing the consensus of opinion among all classes.

In the other cases cited, disease is admitted as being the determining factor in the rejection and deportation of no less than five. In one of the cases insanity is the cause; and in one specific case, as well as in a number of others affecting large parties of intending immigrants, the dishonest methods of European so-called "emigration agencies," which deceive the emigrant to America, are set down as the reason of their rejection and deportation. The "disease" mentioned is the same in four cases—trachoma. This virulent, contagious, and loathsome disease is very prevalent among the class of immigrants of whom Mr. Brandenburg speaks, and it is difficult to conceive how he can advocate that any sufferers therefrom should, on any consideration, be given admission to this country, so free as yet from many of the diseases rampant in Europe. Is America to receive such affected persons on merely sentimental grounds?

Such are the facts of the instances of deportation which are presented to the reader by your contributor. Who, then, will, on flimsy grounds of pity for the diseased, the halt, the maimed, the mad, and such like, advocate the admission of persons who will be a constant menace to the public health and a continual burden on the National purse? Are there not in America enough of sanitaria, hospitals, and other institutions? Why add to the number? Yet this must be the natural issue if the immigration restrictions on the matter relax their stringency. These restrictive measures are common to practically all European countries, and the nature of such laws is easily ascertainable at ports of embarkation. They are in numerous instances printed in a succinct and condensed form on the sailings bills and advertisements of the transatlantic shipping companies. Your contributor's wholesale assertion that "every agency that promotes immigration conspires to keep them in the dark" is only an assertion; and his harsh and unwarrantable affirmation that the present immigration laws are responsible for the "ruining of tens of thousands of happy families" is not borne out by the facts.

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

II.—SOME OFFICIAL INFORMATION

BY ROBERT WATCHORN

Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York

I thank you very much for the implied compliment in requesting me to give you my opinion of the article in the issue of The Outlook for October 13 entitled "The Tragedy of the Rejected Immigrant."

To make a complete analysis of the article would require more time than I can at this moment spare, but I can take up one or two of the points by way of indicating how erroneous the specific cases mentioned really are.

The story about Ludwig Mollnar is to the effect that he came last spring from Fiume; that he was fifty-five years of age; that he was afflicted with some deep-seated disease, by reason of which he was ordered deported; and that when the officer called for him (mark the penitentiary air with which this call was announced), a tragic incident took place, and so forth and so on. No case analogous to this has occurred during my administration, and I have been in charge twenty months.

The facts are that a man named Ludwig Mollnar, accompanied by a sixteen-year-old son, came to Ellis Island from Bremen (not from Fiume) in February, 1903 (not last spring, 1906). He was ordered deported for very good and sufficient reasons, but not because of any "deep-seated disease" which had taken hold of him. He was an embezzler, a forger, and had committed larceny, and the result of his forgery had netted 9,750 crowns. During one night of his detention, while in bed, and when all other

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detained persons at Ellis Island were in bed, he committed suicide rather than return to the scene of his crimes and face the consequences thereof. His son knew nothing of his suicide until notified of it.

No one who reads the author's account of the Fanny Diner case will fail to come to the conclusion that she was driven insane by reason of the consequences incident to "the great Odessa massacre," and that not even the President of the United States could prevail upon the callous officials to permit her to land (a very evident absurdity). What are the facts? Fanny Diner is not insane—never was. Only those who have once been intelligent can ever become insane. Fanny Diner was a congenital idiot—one of the most confirmed idiots that ever came to this port—and the testimony given by her mother at the time of her hearing at this port stamps the main story concerning her, as published in The Outlook, as devoid of truth. She was deported on April 15, 1906, per steamship Kroonland, for the first time. The Kroonland does not put in at Philadelphia. She ought never to have been accepted as a passenger (it does not require a system of foreign inspection to prevent such embarkations or emigration), and the Government took prompt and vigorous means to impress this view upon the steamship company whose passenger she was. The brother to whom she was destined is on record at this office as thanking the Government for the considerate and humane manner in which she was treated while here, and expressing the profoundest respect for the Government's treatment of the case. The parties with whom she was deported, singularly enough, were going to the same destination, knew Fanny Diner very well, were well acquainted with her aunt, who still resides in Russia and who is a well-to-do woman; and they, for a consideration which Fanny Diner's brother was only too glad to furnish them, acted as accompanying alien for and delivered her to her aunt, who is now her guardian. These people were named Mr. and Mrs. Rubin Kogan, and they were deported because of a lack of visible means of support. Neither of them was afflicted with tuberculosis or any other disease.

On page 364 we are told that the Napolitan Prince alone carried back one thousand men, women, and children to their native land in sorrow, and that other ships took parties of five hundred, two hundred, and one hundred respectively. The facts are that the largest number of people ever deported on the Napolitan Prince was one hundred and thirty-five (ninety-two of whom were contract laborers), and they (the ninety-two) on reaching their destination sued the steamship company for damages; their complaints were sustained, and the steamship company involved paid them, under order of an Austrian court, the damages sought. The largest number of contract laborers ever deported at one time was three hundred and seventy-three, and this occurred on May 9 last on the Sofia Hohenberg. These passengers also sued for damages, and won their case against the steamship line.

The following statement in Mr. Brandenburg's article is worthy of quotation:

> This last year there were sent back from the United States over twelve thousand immigrants who had wagered their lives' destinies on being admitted. To accompany the children or the sick, or to prevent the separation of families, other admissible aliens were compelled or volunteered to return, to the number of ten thousand, making the total returned across seas to the ports of embarkation twenty-two thousand.

The facts are that last year there were deported as follows:

Diseased persons	2,198
Insane	92
Persons likely to become public charges	7,898
Convicts	39
Assisted immigrants	19
Prostitutes	24
Contract laborers	1,164
All other causes	445
Cases actually public charges within three years after entering the United States	845
Total	12,724

These figures include 2,229 who were merely prevented from entering the United States over the Canadian and Mexican border lines, and as none of the hardships incident to actual deportation could be ascribed to their cases, they must be eliminated. This leaves

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10,495 who have actually been deported to transoceanic ports from both Atlantic and Pacific stations. Included in the 10,495 are all those who were necessarily deported because the aliens on whom they depended were deported. For instance, if the head of a family was found to be inadmissible and was deported, the members of his family accompanying him would all probably be deported with him. So that the figures given of 22,000 actual deportations are, approximately, ninety per cent. exaggeration. It will be observed that those who were rejected at ports of embarkation are also classed with those who have had their "life's plans overturned," hopes blighted, etc., all of which is in accord with the general tenor of the article.

These facts will tend to show to what extent the whole article is exaggerated. When it is realized that less than one per cent. of the people applying for admission to the United States—out of so large a number of applicants and after such painstaking, thorough, and "severe" examinations, "followed by a close questioning into personal affairs before three severe men in a court-like room"—the average reader will no doubt conclude that it will severely tax the resources of any lawmaking body to devise a plan that will yield better results in this connection without doing more serious harm in the other directions.

That there is room for some improvement no one who understands the situation will for a moment attempt to deny; but the evils—such as they are—are far less black than they are painted. Gross exaggeration and an utter disregard for truthful statements are not calculated to bring the matter into the proper arena for their accurate ascertainment and correction. Neither will they, when they are ascertained, be properly corrected by any crude, impracticable, or visionary remedy.

Ellis Island.

III.—WHERE THE FAULT LIES

BY JAMES RUDOLPH GARFIELD

Of the Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington

Mr. Broughton Brandenburg's article, "The Tragedy of the Rejected Immigrant," gives a totally wrong impression of the administration of the immigration laws. It is perfectly true that the immigrant who is rejected often does suffer great hardship, but the suffering is not caused by the method of administering the law. The average man who reads this article, not knowing the law, will gain the impression that the United States Government is imposing such hardships, whereas the facts are that the Government does not in any way offer inducements for immigration, makes no concealment of the laws and regulations, warns the world that those prohibited under the act will not be permitted to land, and is using every possible effort to improve the conditions under which the immigrants come to this country. Necessarily, mistakes will be made. It is only surprising that in passing upon more than a million cases in a year so few instances of maladministration occur. I do not by any means urge that the system is perfect. Many improvements are possible; many are being made.

Every one of the instances cited by Brandenburg is shown by his own statement to apply to persons who ought not under any circumstances be admitted to this country. He seems to be laboring under the impression that we must consider the desire of the individual immigrant rather than the good of our own country. Such sentences as the following, taken from his article, are unwarranted or untruthful criticisms:

> The life plans of almost ninety thousand persons overturned annually by the present system of administration of our immigration laws! Surely such an inhuman system should undergo an immediate reorganization. But officialdom and the public seem calloused by the frequent little stories of these deluded, helpless unfortunates.
>
> The gigantic annual crime of ruining tens of thousands of happy families stands to our everlasting discredit, and should form the principal reason for urging the speedy installation of an adequate foreign inspection.

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The only remedy suggested by Mr. Brandenburg is that the inspection of an immigrant be taken at his home town. Mr. Brandenburg must have known that such a change requires Congressional action, and hence the fact that such inspection is not now adopted cannot be charged to the administration of the law. He further should know that for the last three years the Commissioner-General of Immigration has urged upon Congress the need of providing means for inspection abroad, and that the Secretary of the Department has approved this suggestion. Mr. Brandenburg knows that instead of officials of the Immigration Service being "calloused" to unfortunate individual cases, these cases receive the most careful, painstaking examination, not only by the officers at the ports of entry, but afterwards by the Commissioner-General of Immigration and the Secretary of the Department. Had Mr. Brandenburg desired to be fair, he would have cited some of the many cases where families have been brought together because of the investigation and action of the Department; where young boys have been kept from lives of virtual servitude, and young girls from lives of degradation and shame; where criminals, prostitutes, and persons afflicted with contagious diseases have been prevented from becoming a part of our body politic.

Mr. Brandenburg has chosen a very peculiar way to urge foreign inspection. His reasons are wrong, and the cases which he presents to support his reasons show that there has been no maladministration of the law. Inspection at foreign ports is most important, because it will make it more possible to prevent the undesirable immigrant from coming to our shores. This Government should consider first of all the protection of its own people. If personal inconvenience or hardship come to the person voluntarily seeking to enter our country, it must be charged against him or the cupidity of the steamship companies, and not against this Government.

Mr. Brandenburg will be of help whenever he points out bad conditions or bad administration that can be remedied by the executive officers. If he seeks to obtain legislative changes, he should base his arguments upon facts, and not attempt to stir up public hostility to the present administrative methods by giving a much distorted and one-sided picture of immigration conditions. Mr. Brandenburg's experience and position make his article the more inexcusable, and its publication in The Outlook will, I fear, make many people believe its statements.

IV.—THE IMMIGRATION SITUATION IN CONGRESS

BY PRESCOTT F. HALL

Author of "Immigration;" Secretary of the Immigration Restriction League

In the report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for the year 1905 we find these words:

> The experience of another year . . . has . . . served to establish a stronger conviction of the magnitude and gravity of the problems presented by the growth of our alien population. These problems loom so largely in the prospect of our country that it may be said, without giving just cause to charge exaggeration, that all other questions of public economy, relating to things rather than to human beings, shrink into comparative insignificance.

In 1882 the Federal Government first took control of immigration, with the object of sifting out the dependent, defective, and delinquent classes. Successive acts of legislation have all been framed with the purpose of carrying out this object, as originally expressed in the Act of 1882. Experience has shown that all of these acts have contained loopholes through which those interested in bringing in immigrants for pecuniary gain have been able to evade the restrictions intended to be imposed. Even the Act of March 3, 1903, which was a codification and strengthening of previous legislation, has been found inadequate to accomplish, as it had been

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hoped it would, the proper sifting of immigrants.

On this account, and in view of the enormous increase in the number of immigrants, which renders the defects of the law more apparent, there was introduced into the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress a bill, known as Senate Bill No. 4,403, which, in the opinion of those who have studied the question most carefully, including the officials of the Immigration Bureau, will go a long way toward remedying the existing defects.

The first provision contained in this bill is for an increase of the present head tax from two to five dollars. It is true that there is at present a surplus of some two million dollars in the "immigrant fund," but it is apparent that a very large sum of money, perhaps ten million or fifteen million dollars, is needed to supply adequate facilities for the proper inspection of immigrants; for medical inspection at foreign ports; for better-paid inspectors at our own ports, and more of them; for additional ports of entry, especially in the Southern and Gulf States; for enlarged facilities in the offices of the various district attorneys charged with the prosecution of immigrant cases; for more adequate secret service abroad; for the deportation of those who have become public charges, and many other purposes. This increase will likewise have some effect, according to the testimony of the steamship companies, in diminishing the volume of immigration, and will be likely to prevent the coming chiefly of the less desirable immigrants.

Section 2 of the bill makes certain additions to the excluded classes: In the first place, imbeciles and feeble-minded persons, who are not excluded by the present law, but who come in considerable numbers and propagate a great deal of feeble-mindedness in their offspring. Another very important class proposed to be excluded is that of persons of "poor physique." The wording of this clause is as follows:

> Persons who are not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such aliens to earn a living.

The reports of the Commissioner-General for the last few years show that, in addition to the sixteen classes now excluded or supposed to be excluded by law, there are a great many persons of such low vitality and poor physique that they are practically certain to become public charges within a few years after landing. At present there is no way of excluding these persons, especially if a friend or relative comes forward and agrees to be responsible for their support. This offer of support prevents their being excluded as being "liable to become public charges," and yet in most cases after they are landed the friend or relative disappears and the immigrant becomes a burden. The surgeons of the Marine Hospital Service testify that there has been a great increase in poor physique during the last quarter of a century among immigrants, and that those of poor physique are usually admitted. At the present time the steamship companies are engaged, through their agents, or through sub-agents who have no direct connection with the companies, but who are allowed a commission on the number of tickets sold, in stimulating the emigration of any person who can possibly pass our inspection. The result is that much of the present immigration is not a normal flow of sturdy and enterprising immigrants, but is an artificial selection of some of the worst elements of European populations. It is therefore necessary to enlarge the number of the excluded classes in such a way as specifically to exclude the undesirable. An immigrant who is not in good health has, as a rule, not accumulated as much money before he comes, and is not in as good a situation to get a job or to take care of himself after arrival. The next class excluded by the Senate bill comprises children under seventeen years of age unaccompanied by parents. The object of this clause is to prevent certain evils which have been disclosed under the existing system, particularly the bringing in of large numbers of boys to work under the padrone system, and the bringing in of young girls for immoral purposes.

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The Senate bill further undertakes to limit that provision of the present law which enables any "friend or relative" to send for an immigrant and to prepay his passage. It is estimated that upwards of fifty per cent. of the present immigration is assisted to come, and that many of these immigrants would not come except for such assistance. In general, they are less desirable than if they were able to come alone. The Senate bill limits the classes of immigrants who can be assisted to parents, wife, husband, children, grandchildren, brothers, sisters, or children of deceased brothers and sisters, who do not belong to any of the other excluded classes. The theory of this clause is to limit the privilege of assisting to persons who are under legal or moral obligation to support the immigrants after arrival.

Section 9 of the Senate bill relates to the fines upon steamship companies. Under the existing law a penalty of $100 in each case is imposed upon lines which bring over diseased immigrants, if disease could have been detected at the port of departure. The proposed section extends the fines to cases of idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, insane persons, and epileptics. The theory of the previous acts relating to immigration has been that the duty imposed upon the steamship companies of taking back rejected immigrants will cause them to apply the restrictions of our law at the time they are selling tickets to immigrants at the beginning of their journey. It appears in practice, however, that they frequently charge the immigrant a sum of money in addition to his passage, with the object of protecting themselves on the fines, and making a profit on carrying the immigrant back if he is rejected. In 1904 $31,000 was collected from steamship companies, and in 1905 $27,300 was collected, showing that the provisions of the present law are not sufficiently stringent in this respect.

Section 20 of the Act extends to three years the period within which immigrants becoming public charges from causes arising subsequent to landing can be deported at the expense of the steamship companies. At present it is two years.

Section 26 provides for a bureau of information to be established at New York, and perhaps at other ports, at which representatives of the various States may be present to give information as to the facilities for obtaining employment, the desirability of settlement, and the soils and industries in their various localities. This provision has been much advocated, and seems to be a desirable thing to do, provided it is not allowed to interfere with the enactment of proper restriction upon immigration. The establishment of what practically amounts to a labor bureau at the ports of entry will tend very largely to stimulate immigration, and unless care is taken to secure the admission of only desirable immigrants, it will do more harm than good.

Section 27 of the Act takes out the word "temporarily" as applied to the Commissioner-General sending immigration officials abroad, and includes "surgeons" with "officers." Recent reports show conclusively that if this country wants to know what is actually being done abroad in the way of stimulating immigration, it is necessary to employ efficient, capable secret service agents. While consular inspection, so called, is generally agreed to be impracticable, there are the strongest reasons for the employment of marine hospital surgeons at foreign ports wherever medical inspection will be permitted by foreign Governments, and of frequent investigations by secret service agents as to immigration conditions.

Section 29 of the Act provides for an illiteracy test, excluding "all persons over sixteen years of age and physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language or some other language; but an admissible immigrant, or a person now in, or hereafter admitted to, this country, may bring in or send for his wife, his children under eighteen years of age, and his parents or grandparents over fifty years of age, if they are otherwise admissible, whether they are so able to read or not." The illiteracy test is not at all based upon the view that a man is necessarily a better immigrant because he can read and write, but upon the fact that the statistics show

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that, on the whole, the class that can read and write are better in other respects than those who cannot. This is testified to by many persons familiar with immigration matters. Dr. Albert Shaw, for example, stated that matter very strongly in the Review of Reviews for last July. The illiteracy test might not cut down the volume of immigration appreciably, but it would tend to raise the quality. It is not merely a question of the suffrage, although that enters into it, but it is a question of assimilation. An immigrant who can read has many channels of assimilation open to him which a man who cannot read does not have. The illiteracy test is not a substitute for the law excluding criminals and anarchists, but in addition to them, and therefore the argument that many criminals can read is not a sound objection to the test. If such a test had been in force for the last twenty years, an appreciable proportion of the foreign-born in our prisons, almshouses, and insane asylums would have been excluded, and therefore such a test would have directly diminished to a certain extent the dependent and delinquent classes.

In addition to the Senate bill, which is now pending before the Conference Committee, there is also a House bill, commonly known as the Gardner Bill. It is very similar to the Senate bill, but contains one or two additional provisions.

One of the great difficulties of the present law is that the term "liable to become a public charge," which includes the largest number of those who are deported, is a very elastic term. In the short time allowed for examination, it is very difficult to tell whether an immigrant is liable to become a public charge or not. The interpretation of the law varies with the disposition of the higher officials toward a lax or strict construction. It is therefore impossible for the steamship companies to be certain whether the term applies or not to any particular immigrant, and it is therefore very desirable, in justice to the immigrants, and as a further protection to the country, that this term should be more clearly defined.

The House bill (H. R. 18,673) originally provided, in section 39, that every male alien over sixteen years of age must have twenty-five dollars in his possession, and every male alien under sixteen years of age must have fifteen dollars in his possession, otherwise he will be deemed liable to become a public charge. In case of a family coming together, the head of the family must have fifty dollars in his possession, in which case the female members of his immediate family entering with him and the male members under eighteen years of age are not required to be in possession of any sum. This provision was omitted from the bill as sent to conference. Provisions of this sort have been in operation for some time in Cape Colony and under the British Aliens Act. One advantage of such a provision is that it does not take money from the immigrant by way of a tax, and yet secures his being in possession of sufficient money to carry him to an interior point, or to support him until he can obtain work. It is to be hoped that this clause will be restored by the Conference Committee.

A provision known as the "Littauer amendment" was inserted in the House bill before being sent to conference. This provides that an alien who proves that he is seeking admission to avoid prosecution or punishment on religious or political grounds shall not be deported as being "liable to become a public charge." While we may sympathize with the spirit of this amendment, it is to be hoped that it will not be finally adopted, for it would practically nullify the most important existing restriction. An immigrant might testify before the board of special inquiry that he had come to avoid prosecution, and the immigration authorities would have no evidence to the contrary. Under this clause he must then be admitted. There is no question that a vast amount of perjury would be resorted to, with practically no chance of detection, and thousands of immigrants who could not get in any other way would come in under this provision.

The Senate bill passed the Senate May 23, 1906, and the House bill was passed and sent to conference June 25,

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1906. Owing to the fact that the House and Senate conferees could not agree, no conference report was made in the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress, but the matter went over and will come up again in December next.

It may be said, in general, that while the pending legislation contains some new features, its purpose is really nothing more than to make effective the principles embodied in the original immigration act. If such very moderate provisions as the small increase in the head tax, the exclusion of persons of poor physique, the limiting of assisted immigration, the illiteracy test, and the defining of liability to become a public charge, can be enacted at the coming session, the probability is that, without any serious interference with the genuine demand for labor which exists in some parts of the country, the quality of our immigration can be very much raised, and the evils with which the present laws are inadequate to cope will be largely done away with.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY[1]

THE WALKING DELEGATE

BY LUKE GRANT

AN automobile stopped before a great business block which was building. It was on the West Side in Chicago. Three men and the chauffeur were seated in the vehicle.

"I'll be gone but a minute," one said, as he stepped to the curb. "You fellows wait for me."

He was flashily dressed. His trousers were fresh from the ironing-board of the tailor, and his coat was the latest cut. He "sported" a fancy lavender-colored waistcoat, and in his shirt-front a diamond sparkled. Patent-leather shoes adorned his feet. His whole appearance indicated that he had no lack of money and spent much of it upon himself.

Entering the building, he glanced around until his eyes found what they sought. He beckoned to a young man in greasy overalls, extending his hand as the other approached.

"This job's on strike," he announced. "You tell the other fellows to quit until the trouble is straightened out."

The workmen without demur obeyed the order, and within five minutes the building was "tied up."

"Did ye pull the job?" inquired one of his companions as the walking delegate climbed into his automobile.

"What d'ye suppose I came out here for?" was the reply. "We'll let them sweat for a while," and the chauffeur was ordered to return to the city.

The buildings in question are situated about five miles from the business center of Chicago. On the way out a number of bottles of champagne had been emptied by the walking delegate and his friends. More wine was consumed on the return trip. The walking delegate "did the honors," explaining: "We might as well do things right. I may have my faults, but I never was accused of being cheap."

This particular walking delegate is not representative of men of his calling. He illustrates, however, an exception frequently accepted as a type.

The walking delegate is the product of conditions for which employers who are to-day loudest in their condemnation of him are largely responsible. When in the early days labor unions were struggling for "recognition" or for the right of collective bargaining, in the days before the evolution of the walking delegate, the more aggressive spirits who volunteered to represent their fellows usually paid the penalty for their temerity. When a committee approached an employer with a request for increased wages or improved working conditions, the spokesman, if not the entire committee, had to seek other employment.

"We propose to conduct our business

[1] This is the fifth article in the series on Industrial Democracy.—THE EDITORS.

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in our own way," said the employer. "We want no union interference."

The earlier unions tried to counteract the penalizing by paying full wages to the men thus "victimized" until the latter found other employment. This condition became responsible for the walking delegate, since the unions learned by experience that to protect their interests they needed a representative who could not be discharged. This attitude of employers toward unions not only made the walking delegate a necessity, but in a degree determined his qualifications. He had to be a man possessed of physical courage, who would not be intimidated.

The walking delegate is elected by popular vote. It does not follow, however, that the man best suited for the position is always the one chosen. The popular vote system has its defects in the labor world, as in the world of politics. The influence of the "good fellow" is powerful among union men. In many unions the man who will freely spend his money over the bar can get elected to any position he aspires to. As the citizen who most strongly condemns corruption in civic affairs is often the one who stays away from the polls on election day, so the union man most ready to criticise the acts of the walking delegate usually takes no part in his election. Whether a walking delegate is elected by ballot in a meeting of his union, or by the Australian ballot system, rarely does the vote cast exceed thirty per cent. of the membership.

In unions of skilled workmen it is an almost invariable rule that the walking delegate is a competent workman in his trade. "He is a good mechanic and understands his business" is an expression frequently heard among skilled workmen when discussing the qualifications of a candidate. "He can't hold a job anywhere" is an effective argument to use against an aspirant for office. It is not unusual, however, for the good workman to be also the "good fellow." If he is not a "good fellow" when first elected, he is exceedingly apt to become one if he wishes to retain his popularity.

The powers vested in the walking delegate by his union vary according to custom and to the peculiar conditions existing in the craft he represents. In some unions his authority is almost supreme, in others he is given instructions to carry out. Much depends on what is believed most expedient to bring results, and not a little depends on the character of the individual walking delegate. There are no unions which permit their walking delegate to initiate a general strike of the trade in a city. That must be voted on by the membership. At the same time, the walking delegate in most unions has authority to call a strike on a particular building or factory without consulting the membership. At times this leads to serious abuses; at other times it is an advantage to the membership. If the walking delegate of a building trades union had to wait for a meeting of his union to get authority to order a strike, the opportune moment might pass in the interval. His idea is to call a strike at the moment it will work the greatest hardship on the man he is fighting. Every strategic position must be taken advantage of to insure success. Realizing this, the members of a union allow the walking delegate to call "individual" strikes at his discretion.

As the powers of the walking delegate vary in the different unions, so do his duties. In a union of street-car men, for instance, it is unnecessary to have a walking delegate constantly going around among the men. All the members of the union are employed by the same corporation. Once a working agreement is signed, the working conditions are definitely settled. The walking delegate is seldom required to adjust grievances. He acts as secretary of his union in addition to his other duties.

In a building trades union the duties of the walking delegate are altogether different. Contractors will sign an agreement to pay a certain scale of wages, but it lies with the walking delegate to see that the agreement is enforced. He is required to watch the members of his union as well as the contractors who employ them. The members of a union will vote unanimously to uphold a scale, but in the fierce competition for work union pledges are often forgotten. The "law" of supply and demand may be

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recognized by economists, but it is not recognized as a law by the walking delegate and his constituents. His daily work is fighting the so-called law. He believes in free competition with limitations. Members of the union are free to compete with one another for work, provided they insist on receiving the minimum scale of wages. Contractors may compete for contracts as fiercely as they choose, but they must pay the minimum rate of wages to their workmen. The fair employer must not be made to suffer because of the unscrupulous one who will cut wages. The honest union man who stands out for the scale must not suffer because of the less honest member who is willing to work for less. The walking delegate must see that competition is not "free," but fair.

Employers and workmen frequently connive to deceive the walking delegate. The paying of rebates is not confined to the railways. It exists in many building trades. When the walking delegate suspects that the scale is not being paid, he will surprise a contractor by appearing on a building or at the office on pay-day. The pay envelopes have to be opened in his presence, and if the amounts are incorrect a strike is called. Knowing this, contractors frequently place the correct amount in the pay envelope and receive a portion of it back the following day.

A more ingenious method resorted to is to mark on the envelope a lesser number of hours than the man receiving it has actually worked. For instance, the union scale is fifty cents an hour and the mechanic has worked forty hours in the week. His pay would be twenty dollars. If he is secretly working for forty cents an hour, his pay would be sixteen dollars, and his envelope is marked thirty-two hours at fifty cents an hour.

Such practices are daily discovered by the walking delegate, and when he orders a strike to break up such a combination he is denounced not only by the employer but by the guilty men in his own union. "My men were perfectly satisfied until the walking delegate appeared," the contractor will say. "Other contractors are doing the same thing. I guess the trouble is I didn't hand him a little money."

In most unions the walking delegate is compelled to be an employment agent. If he can find work for but one man when ten are idle, he makes enemies of the other nine, who want to know at the next meeting "what they are paying a walking delegate for."

"The walking delegate is the policeman of the union," said an old trade-unionist to me recently. "The honest employer does not fear him, but the unscrupulous dread him as a thief does a policeman."

The remark was made by one of the most intelligent members in a union of skilled workers. While his characterization is perhaps too broad, it illustrates the regard in which the walking delegate is held by his fellows. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the man quoted was one of a minority bitterly opposed to the introduction of the walking delegate in his own union several years ago. At the time he denounced walking delegates on the floor of his union hall as "loafers," and declared he would never contribute to the support of one.

Taken from the shop or factory, as he generally is, there is a complete change in the life of the walking delegate when he assumes office. Under the eyes of a taskmaster in a shop or a factory he may have been sober and industrious. The unaccustomed freedom from restraint may, however, change his whole nature. He finds himself suddenly transferred from a position of servitude to one of authority. He has a small army of men at his command. With an exaggerated opinion of his own importance, he is apt to abuse his power before he realizes his responsibility.

"Do you know who I am?" said a walking delegate to an employer who questioned his right to interfere with workmen. As he spoke he threw open his coat and displayed a star. He called a strike at once, "just to show the employer." It was his first day's experience.

"My men were stopped without apparent cause," said the employer, an hour later, at the headquarters of the union.

"I'll have the matter looked into at once," said the President of the District Council, who was responsible for the

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conduct of all the walking delegates from the various local unions in the craft. Calling in one of his trusted men, the President requested him to go and make an investigation. The men were at once ordered back to work.

As the inexperienced walking delegate sometimes calls strikes to show his authority, so the inexperienced employer frequently provokes trouble by his manner.

"If you set your foot inside that store I will kill you," said a merchant to a building trades walking delegate on one occasion. The merchant had rented a store, and it was being fitted up by non-union men. The walking delegate was a man of experience, and a fair judge of human nature.

"I don't want to get killed, so I won't trespass," he said.

"You had better not," said the merchant, who was having his first experience with a walking delegate. "When I was a young man," he continued, "if I could not get three dollars a week I worked for two dollars."

"Times have changed since then," replied the walking delegate.

"I should think they have changed, when loafers like you are permitted to interfere with workmen. You will not work yourself, or allow others to work." As a result of this merchant's pugnacity, the non-union men were put off the building by the architect.

The abuse of suddenly acquired power is not the only danger which confronts the walking delegate when he first assumes office. Temptations are daily thrown in his way from different directions. His duties necessitate his keeping late hours. Employers who, for reasons best known to themselves, desire to be on friendly terms with the walking delegate will ask him to meet them in the bar-room of a hotel. Beer, something of a luxury to him in the days when he worked in a factory or sat on the seat of a wagon, is no longer considered good to drink. The employer will insist on buying wine. It requires a strong character to resist such temptations, and the walking delegate does not always resist them, for he is human. There is not a city of importance in the country that does not contain its quota of men whose lives have been wrecked by their careers as walking delegates. In such a complete change of atmosphere it is perhaps not to be wondered at that some walking delegates acquire habits that are not commendable.

By a wrong psychological deduction, many people believe that because a walking delegate visits questionable resorts, as many of them do, and is untrue to his family, he must necessarily be dishonest and faithless to those he represents. There are many walking delegates who cannot be purchased to do a dishonorable act where their union is involved, but who have extremely loose ideas on morality in other respects.

"I always believed our walking delegate was an honest man," said a member of a union recently. "Indeed, I would have staked my life on his honesty; and I learned that he was drinking in a resort with women a few nights ago."

"That is no proof that he is dishonest in the usual sense of the term," I suggested.

"Well, perhaps not, but, you know, he is a married man." There was something in the man's manner and tone that spoke volumes. He had lost faith in his idol. Yet the walking delegate referred to, on at least one occasion, indignantly spurned a bribe, offered him by a corporation, that would have meant more to him financially than five years' salary from his union. The "grafter" among walking delegates is the exception and not the rule.

There is as wide a difference between walking delegates as there is between statesmen and ward heelers. Public opinion, however, releases the statesman from responsibility for the misdeeds of his "henchmen," while it condemns walking delegates in wholesale on account of the sins of a particular few. The average walking delegate is much like the average man in other walks of life. He may be coarse, brutal, and unscrupulous. If he is, he is likely to be pilloried before the public as a type of his class, and others of his calling who are honest, honorable men suffer in reputation therefor.

While individuality counts in the world

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of labor as it counts everywhere, the walking delegate, commonly speaking, is representative of the particular union which elects him, and reflects its characteristics. The walking delegate of a union of printers is apt to be diplomatic, ready with intelligent arguments and courteous in his address. On the other hand, the walking delegate of a union of teamsters is apt to be rough in his manner, profane in his language, and more ready to settle an argument by physical force than by skillful diplomacy.

Both men, however, are aiming to accomplish the same ends. The difference in their methods is due to the difference in manners in their respective callings and the peculiarities of their respective environments.

The publisher of a newspaper is a man of education and intelligence. He has to be met with intelligence. The team-owner is apt to be a man with business capacity but with less politeness. He is accustomed to order his teamsters in language he and they understand. He has in all probability driven a team himself at some time in his career, and he deals with his men in the manner experience has taught him to be the most effective. The walking delegate meets the team-owner, not with soft words, but with plain speech, coarse speech, man-to-man fashion.

A notion prevails that the walking delegate is an agitator who stirs up trouble to keep himself in office. It is an error. While it is true that the most radical man in the union frequently gets elected, it is equally true that he soon becomes conservative. It does not require long experience in office to convince him that radical utterances in union halls do not accomplish results. When he worked in a factory, he believed that there was only one side to the labor problem, and that the employer had no rights which the workman was bound to respect. As walking delegate he gets a broader view of the world than he could ever have obtained when looking through the factory window. Incidents in his daily life give him an insight into human nature that he could never have acquired at the work-bench. He learns by practical experience that the existing order of things cannot be changed in a day or a week. He finds out that the employer really has rights in the matter. After he reaches this stage, which takes him weeks or months, according to his ability and to the conditions which he has had to confront, he changes his attitude in his union meetings and endeavors to hold back his constituents, instead of urging them on as he did in the days when he worked in a factory.

"I would like to hear what the walking delegate has to say on this question," said a union man in a meeting when a wage scale was under discussion. The walking delegate said that he believed the employers were in a position to resist a demand, and that it would be wisdom to let the old scale stand for another year.

Hardly had he resumed his seat when another man who wanted to be elected to the position arose and said: "It seems to me the walking delegate does not want us to get more money. He gets more than the scale himself, and does not care about the rest of us. We are entitled to ten cents an hour more than we are getting, and there is no reason why we shouldn't have it."

The speech was greeted with cheers. A strike was voted, and shortly after it was called the walking delegate was asked to resign. The less conservative man was elected in his place. The strike was lost. The men had to return to work at the old scale, while they sacrificed some of the favorable conditions they had before the strike. But the new walking delegate retained his position. They said of him: "Well, he wasn't afraid of the bosses, anyway."

This illustration is not unusual. When the experienced walking delegate tries to keep his union from engaging in a strike the success of which appears doubtful, he is accused of being "afraid of the bosses," or even of being "bought." Seldom does any position appear unreasonable to the members of a union when they are in a meeting hall. They want certain things, and the question of whether the demands are reasonable does not enter into their calculations. "We are entitled to all we can get," and "We never got anything with-

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out fighting for it," are the rules by which they go.

One of the most interesting studies of the walking delegate, and one that is not well understood, is his attitude toward the "slugging" of non union men. Wherever systematic "slugging" of non-union men is carried on during a strike, it can always be charged to the knowledge of the walking delegate, if not to his instigation.

While "slugging" is not to be condoned or excused, something is to be said, not in defense of those responsible for it, but in explanation. It is commonly supposed that the men who commit assaults on non-unionists during strikes are naturally vicious and criminal. That the assaults are vicious and criminal is beyond doubt, and that the "professional slugger" is a low type of the human race may be admitted. Many of the assaults committed during strikes, however, are not committed by "professional sluggers," but by zealots who are neither vicious nor criminal in intention. Their action proceeds from blind devotion to a cause. The walking delegate is often a zealot. He lives in an atmosphere of unionism. He preaches it by day and he dreams of it by night. He gradually reaches a stage where unionism becomes to him more than a religion. Anything done in the name of unionism is to him holy if he believes it will further the cause. At sight of an act of cruelty to a horse on the street he will protest, while he will look upon an assault on a "scab" with gratification. He may have a generous nature and a sympathetic heart, and yet be positively cruel and cold-blooded in furthering, as he believes, the cause of his union.

"You are a strange combination," I remarked to a walking delegate. "I believe you could beat a 'scab' and repeat the Lord's prayer at the same time."

"I could," he replied; "and I believe the Lord would bless me for doing it."

In many respects this particular walking delegate is an ideal citizen. Devoted to his wife and children, he would rather die than wrong them. He does not taste intoxicating liquor nor use tobacco in any form. He is constantly preaching temperance among his fellows. He is absolutely honest, and no inducement could tempt him from the paths of rectitude in that direction. Human misery touches him deeply, and he will give from his wages, at the expense of his family, to relieve distress.

Notwithstanding these admirable traits in his character, he will beat a 'scab' into insensibility and take pride in it. This picture is no exaggeration, and it illustrates the blind fanaticism I have attempted to describe.

On one occasion the walking delegate referred to above was riding on a street-car. When he paid his fare, the conductor, by mistake, returned him too much change. With the money still in his hand, he looked at the conductor and in a good-natured manner asked, "Where is your union button?"

"I don't wear a button," said the conductor, sharply.

"What! ain't you a union man?"

"No, and I don't want to be, either."

"All right; you gave me fifty cents too much change and I meant to return it; but I make a practice never to give anything to a 'scab.' I'll give it to the Salvation Army."

The conductor remonstrated, but the walking delegate kept the money and actually gave it to a Salvation Army lassie later.

This singular and dangerous trait of human nature is not produced by trades-unionism. The same insensate devotion which places an organization above every other consideration was seen in the church centuries before labor unions became a factor in industrial life. It is observable in politics to-day.

Few walking delegates are naturally criminal and vicious. While men like to be led, they follow a leader because of qualities in him that attract them. Cruelty and viciousness are not attractive to a majority. Neither does the walking delegate hold his position through fear which keeps his constituents from opposing him, although it is frequently charged that his rule is despotic. By trickery and unscrupulous methods he may occasionally get elected to office, but unless he fairly represents a majority in his union, his career is short.

Usually a man with little education,

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the walking delegate is often called upon to plead the cause of his union before men of trained intellect. That he acquits himself creditably under such circumstances many employers can attest.

"If the employers want to win this strike, they had better not get into conference with the walking delegates," said the Western representative of one of the largest construction companies in America during the progress of a strike in Chicago. "I told some of them the other day," he continued, "when they asked my advice, that I would take six walking delegates and put them against six of the biggest merchants in Chicago in an argument, and in two hours they will make the merchants look like 'thirty cents.' These labor fellows understand working conditions because they have the experience. The average business man has not."

Much of the abuse to which the walking delegate is subjected to-day proceeds from ignorance. A majority of human institutions, although founded on correct principles, have nevertheless developed abuses in the course of their history. The labor union is no exception to this rule.

But with the almost general recognition of labor unions of skilled workers by employers, there has come a change in the walking delegate. Commonly speaking, he is an improvement over his predecessor of former days.

"It is not a 'bruiser,' but a diplomat, that we need for a walking delegate," said a man in a meeting of his union recently, when nominations for walking delegate were being made. "The day of 'slugging' is past, and intelligence must take its place. We must select our representative with that idea in our minds if we are to meet with success."

As the walking delegate has improved with the change of conditions in the older unions of skilled workers, so will he gradually change in the new unions of unskilled workers as the conditions change. Much depends on the employer. The meeting together of employers and walking delegates in negotiating joint trade agreements has had a wonderful effect on both from an educational standpoint. Each side has learned to be more tolerant of the other.

While reactionaries have been at work during the past two or three years trying to discredit the joint trade agreement method of adjusting industrial differences, it is probable that it will become more and more a factor in our industrial life, and as it does we may expect to see a general improvement in the character of the walking delegate.

HECTOR BERLIOZ AND REALISM IN MUSIC

BY DANIEL GREGORY MASON

THE attentive student of the life of Hector Berlioz, and of the comments on that life which he has vouchsafed in his letters and autobiography,[1] takes away a curious impression of a sort of paradox in the man. His attitude towards life seems fundamentally artificial; he is always posing, forever acting out a rôle, with unerring dramatic sense to be sure, but with what seems to an Anglo-Saxon a lack of sincerity. Yet, on the other hand, he brings to this Gallic conception of life keen intellectual insight, a subtle wit, and inexhaustible good humor. This sense of puzzlement is intensified by his musical compositions, which seem actuated by a desire, not to communicate his feelings in their simplicity, but to project them into a dramatic conception, clothed in spectacular pomp and circumstance. Yet this he does with ingenuity, resourcefulness, imagination, an originality which scorns all platitude, and, in the matter of orchestration, a matchless technical

[1] See Berlioz's "Memoirs," translated by E. and R. Holmes; "Selections from Berlioz's Letters and Other Writings," translated by W. F. Apthorp; and W. H. Hadow's "Studies in Modern Music."

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skill. The brilliant performance of rather specious undertakings—that seems to be Berlioz's artistic cue.

This combination of trivial ends with highly clever means may be illustrated by the "Symphonie Fantastique," one of his most characteristic productions. How different, to begin with, are the inspirations which a romanticist, and a realist like Berlioz, derive from the passion of love! Schumann, married to Clara Wieck after years of waiting, utters his joy in a series of songs, the most lyrical, the most intimate, that song literature has to show. Chopin, in an amorous revery, writes in the larghetto of the F-minor Concerto one of the quietest, simplest, most devout of all his pieces. Berlioz, on the contrary, is goaded by the thought of "his Ophelia," as he called the Irish actress, Miss Smithson, who won his admiration when she played at the Odéon in 1827, to conceive "a young musician of unhealthily sensitive nature, who has poisoned himself with opium in a paroxysm of love-sick despair," and to carry this hero through a very detailed musical drama in five acts. His art, in a word, is descriptive and narrative rather than emotionally expressive.

One of the most curious technical results of this realistic attitude is that Berlioz treats his melodies, not as materials for a purely musical development, but as symbols of characters or other dramatic motives. He thus anticipates the *leit-motif* idea which later became so prominent in the work of Wagner and Liszt. The central motive in the "Symphonie Fantastique," for example, the melody known as "l'idée fixe," symbolizing the beloved, though it appears in each of the five movements, undergoes but little evolution; what modification of it there is seems dictated chiefly by dramatic considerations. In the ball scene two phrases of it are sounded pianissimo, by the clarinet, just after a sounding climax of the full orchestra (Berlioz is much addicted to extreme contrasts), to indicate the hero's remembrance of the beloved in the midst of the festivities. In the third movement, "In the Country," it is given to the oboe and flute, and is treated somewhat more ingeniously, its fifth phrase being interrupted by a rough tumult in all the strings. In "The Procession to the Stake" it figures purely as a theatrical property in a highly characteristic and amusing passage. The hero has finished his long march to the place of execution; as he puts his head on the block silence descends upon the scene—a moment of suspense—and then a single clarinet plays four measures of the theme . . . "Ah! he thinks of her once more" . . . but the thought is cut short by a blow of the ax (fortissimo chord, *tutti*), and the death-rattle (tremolando on three kettle-drums) ends the movement and his life together. Only in the last movement, the frenetic "Witches' Sabbath," is the theme really varied by being turned into a grotesque, undignified dance-tune. This is certainly clever; but the incentive, we must remember, is still dramatic rather than musical—it is intended to show the loved one degraded to the horrid form of a witch.

Yet how remarkable is the skill with which this perverse composer works out his in many respects unmusical ideal! His melodies, however they may lack lyrical quality, are always of definite contour and arresting individuality, and frequently of an odd, half-insidious, half-challenging appeal. Though Mr. Hadow's charge that "time after time he ruins his cause by subordinating beauty to emphasis, and is so anxious to impress that he forgets how to charm" is undoubtedly just, yet equally true is his further comment that "his sense of rhythm was, at the time when he lived, without parallel in the history of music." Thanks to this sense of rhythm, he entirely avoided those wall-paper patterns which make much of the music of romanticism so formally monotonous, and he attained often a splendidly complex, though generally slightly mechanical, organization of phrases. The "idée fixe" is a good example of this prosodic elasticity. It consists of an eight-measure phrase balanced by one of seven measures, four phrases of four measures each in climactic sequence, and a codetta made up of a pair of two-measure phrases and a final phrase of five measures; and with all this variety, the unity of the tune as a whole is unimpeachable. The mel-

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ody of his song, "La Captive," is also most fascinating in its irregular regularity, in the perfect naturalness with which three-measure and two-measure groups alternate and intertwine. In fact, Berlioz is a master of what in poetry we call versification.

His skill in orchestration is notorious. "Berlioz claims attention first and foremost," says one critic,[1] "as a master of orchestration, perhaps the most ingenious and versatile among all modern composers;" and another[2] ranks him with Beethoven, Wagner, and Dvořàk, as "one of the four greatest masters of instrumentation the world has ever seen." Unfortunately, even in this department he could not entirely resist that craving for sensationalism which was the characteristic vice of his temperament; he was often merely noisy or eccentric. When his Requiem frightened one of the audience into a fit, he accepted the incident as a compliment to his powers. He loved to pile Pelion upon Ossa, and recounts in his autobiography how Prince Metternich said to him, "Are you not the man, Monsieur, who composes music for five hundred performers?" To which he replied, "Not always, Monseigneur; I sometimes write for four hundred and fifty." Love of the bizarre prompted him to use his instruments freakishly; he liked to direct that the horns be put in bags, that the cymbals be suspended and struck with a stick, that the drums be played with sticks covered with sponge. In one instance he even ventured a duet between a piccolo and a bass trombone.

His real claim to mastery of the orchestra rests not upon such extravagances, but upon his unerring instinct for the capacities of the common instruments for tone-color, both alone and in combination. As Chopin thought pianistically, so Berlioz thought orchestrally; with him timbre was an essential element in design. Thus the themes of the "Dance of Sprites" and the "Dance of Sylphs," in the "Damnation of Faust," are not merely "tunes" in the generic sense of the word, adaptable to any medium; the first is distinctively a piccolo tune, the second a violin melody. His instinctive sense of what each member of the orchestral family can best do gives his sound-mass an unrivaled clarity, felicity, and distinction: it enables him to solve every problem that arises with entire unconventionality, proceeding from conception to execution with the independence and certainty of a master. Though his scores, on account of the many silent instruments, are apt to look rather empty, they never sound empty, because each tone is placed where it will "tell" to the utmost, without interfering with any other.

The same intellectual ingenuity, curiously dissociated from emotional earnestness, which made Berlioz so clever a melodist and so inimitable a master of orchestral effects, enabled him also to achieve those innovations in the general scheme and intention of instrumental music on which his historical importance mainly depends. By discerning that, although the principle of coherence in all classical and lyrico-romantic music was the interplay and logical evolution of melodies or themes, that is, of purely musical elements, yet a composition might be unified rather by the interplay of characters or events, or, in other words, of dramatic motives, of which the music was merely representative, he opened the way for Liszt and the modern programme-composers. He thus became the pioneer of that realistic movement which in our own day has assumed such prominence, providing as early as 1830, in the "Symphonie Fantastique," which is essentially a realistic work, with programme and "leading motives," the prototype of many famous modern masterpieces.

A cue to the adverse criticisms which must be made on this realistic treatment of instrumental music may be found, curiously enough, in the writings of Wagner. A passage in his essay on Liszt's Symphonic Poems is so illuminating as to deserve quotation at some length:

"I pardon everybody," says the great music-dramatist, "who has doubted the benefit of a new art-form for instrumental music, for I must own to having so

[1] E. Dickinson, "The Study of the History of Music," p. 264.
[2] W. H. Hadow, op. cit., p. 141.

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fully shared that doubt as to join with those who saw in our programme-music a most unedifying spectacle—whereby I felt the drollness of my situation, as I myself was classed among just the programme-musicians and cast into one pot with them. Whilst listening to the best of this sort . . . it had always happened that I so completely lost the musical thread that by no exertion could I re-find and knit it up again. This occurred to me quite recently with the love-scene, so entrancing in its principal motives, of our friend Berlioz's 'Romeo and Juliet Symphony;' the great fascination which had come over me during the development of the chief motive was dispelled in the further course of the movement, and sobered down to an undeniable *malaise;* I discovered that, while I had lost the musical thread (*i.e.*, the logical and lucid play of definite motives), I now had to hold on to scenic motives not present before my eye, nor even so much as indicated in the programme. . . . The musician looks quite away from the incidents of ordinary life, entirely upheaves its details and its accidents, and sublimates whatever lies within it to its quintessence of emotional content—to which alone can music give a voice, and music only. A true musical poet, therefore, would have presented Berlioz with this scene in a thoroughly compact *ideal* form."

Wagner here puts his finger on the chief points of weakness in Berlioz's ingenious scheme. In the first place, on account of the lack of what he calls the musical thread, Berlioz's best works seem somewhat fragmentary and uncoordinated. However we enjoy his brilliant, affecting, or powerful moments, we miss the sense of inexorable progress, of deliberate accumulation of force, of efflorescence of melodic germs as slow and as steady as a process of nature, which is so overwhelming in the music of Bach and Beethoven. His music is interesting rather than beautiful; he lets our attention dissipate itself upon picturesque details, instead of seizing and concentrating it by the grandeur of his design, the symmetry of his forms, the logic of their evolution. He does not hesitate to confess his indifference to abstract musical beauty. "When I was in St. Petersburg," he tells us, "they played me a triple concerto of Bach's. . . . I do not think they intended to annoy me;" and of his own work he says: "The dominant qualities of my music are passionate expression, internal fire, rhythmic animation, and unexpected changes." In a word, he cared less for purity than for pungency of style, and, in the words of Hueffer, "set his own individuality above immutable law."

In the second place, Berlioz is, even as a dramatist, open to severe criticism, the nature of which Wagner points out in saying that in the absence of a purely musical thread one has to hold on to "scenic motives not present to the eye, nor even so much as indicated in the programme." One of the ineradicable defects, not alone of Berlioz's, but of all programme-music, which uses the method without possessing the apparatus of drama, is ambiguity. By placing so much dependence on the definiteness of a medium by nature vague and indeterminate, Berlioz laid himself open to those misconceptions illustrated by the critics who heard in the "Queen Mab Scherzo" the "squeaking of an ill-greased syringe," and in the "King of Thule" ballad the "pushing of a heavy table across the floor." Of this difficulty he was himself conscious; but, with his usual arrogance, he attributed it, not to any shortcoming in his own art, but to his audience's lack of imagination. To the sixth division of the score of "Romeo and Juliet" he appends this foot-note: "The public has no imagination; pieces which address themselves solely to the imagination have consequently no public. The following instrumental scene is in this predicament, and I think it should be suppressed except when the symphony is to be heard by an audience of the élite, to whom the fifth act of Shakespeare's play, with Garrick's dénouement, is extremely familiar, and whose poetic sentiment is very elevated." The thought that possibly a piece of music should not address itself solely to the pictorial imagination does not seem to have occurred to him.

When programme-music does not fail of its effect through being ambiguous, it

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is very apt to lose itself in triviality. Why is it that we are rather more inclined to smile than to shudder at the piled-up horrors of the "Witches' Sabbath"? Why does the elaborate machinery which Berlioz assembles in order to stun us leave us so often rather amused or bored? Why is it that we enjoy more than we resent that parody of his style perpetrated by Arnal, in which we are asked "to understand from the second repetition of the first allegro how my hero ties his cravat"? Is it not that there is involved in the programmistic method a subtle insult to our intelligence, that we instinctively rebel against the use of musical tones, by nature so uniquely expressive of inner verities, for the mere delineation of external objects? Wagner seems to think so when, in the last part of his criticism, he says that the musician "looks quite away from the incidents of ordinary life . . . and sublimates whatever lies within it to its quintessence of emotional content." This highest simplicity of the great creative artist was just what Berlioz, with all his mobile intelligence, all his earnest aspiration, could never achieve. There was in him a disharmony between the emotional and the intellectual genius, a lack of the sense of proportion or the sense of humor, which made it impossible. Just as in his love affairs he was never following an unsophisticated passion but forever masquerading as an ideal hero, and as in his autobiography he never chronicles, but always dramatizes, so in his compositions he could not bring himself to express spontaneous intuitions in naïve forms, but built up elaborate programmes with all the ingenuity of his tireless intelligence.

So uncompromising was his theory of art, and so relentless his execution of it, that there will always be extreme oppositions of opinion as to his achievement. The ultimate problem of whether a realism so thoroughgoing as his is justified by the nature of music will perhaps always remain an open one. But the most recalcitrant critic must admit the greatness of his incidental services to the art which he practiced with such headlong perversity. He was a good iconoclast. He helped to break the bonds of a narrow conservatism which was in danger of confining all music to the forms of the symphony and the sonata, and to the type of expression perfected by the classicists. By his daring imagination he abashed pedantry, and opened up vistas of new possibilities. And he was, at least in one department, that of orchestration, a triumphant innovator. By using instruments, not in traditional, hackneyed ways, but with an intuition of their latent possibilities, he added permanently to the resources of all composers and to the sensitiveness of all listeners. Whether, therefore, the tendency of music toward the realistic, which is so prominent to-day, and in relation to which he stands as one of the greatest of pioneers, shall continue indefinitely, or shall give place to some new movement in another direction, as certain signs seem to indicate—in any event, Berlioz's place as a contributor to the unresting progress of art is secure.

REMINISCENCES OF A FAMOUS WHIG[1]

IT is more than fifty years since the publication of the first two volumes of Lord Holland's memoirs, of which we now have the concluding installment, admirably edited and annotated by Lord Stavordale. At that time the policies and occurrences discussed by Lord Holland still excited a lively interest, and the English critical journals immediately subjected his pages to the closest scrutiny. Himself a partisan of partisans, he was pilloried by the party organs which inherited the views and traditions of the Torydom of the Georgian era. The mighty Quarterly, in particular,

[1] *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party. 1807–1821.* With some Miscellaneous Reminiscences. By Henry Richard Vassall, Third Lord Holland. Edited by Lord Stavordale. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

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smote with a hand of iron the self-constituted historian of the Whig party "Light, loose, adulterated stuff," was its pleasant greeting, followed by allusions to Lord Holland's "innate habits of inaccuracy," his "spirit of misrepresentation and detraction," and "the inveterate bias of his mind to misrepresent and depreciate—whenever he can find or make an opportunity—his old political adversaries." Now, however, new issues have arisen, the old quarrels have lost their bitterness, and even in quarters still permeated by the Tory spirit it will be possible to deal justly with the celebrated nephew of the more famous Charles James Fox, and recognize in his recollections a valuable, if not always judicial or accurate, contribution to the history of British party politics.

Henry Richard, third Lord Holland, was born in 1773, and lived to witness the accession of Queen Victoria, dying in the third year of her reign. His political career began in 1798, and he was soon acknowledged to be the authorized exponent of Fox's policy in the House of Lords. After his uncle's death he took office in the Grenville administration as Lord Privy Seal, but his tenure was brief, the Tories returning to power early in 1807. For twenty-three years thereafter he was in Opposition, a leading spirit in the councils of the Whigs, who made of Holland House a notable social and political center. Here came the Prince Regent to be praised and petted and cajoled, and here, when he had broken with them and had resolved to retain the Tory Government, gathered the old campaigners to denounce his treachery and plan for future victories. Not until 1830, when Lord Grey formed his Ministry, did Lord Holland taste the sweets of office again; and even then there fell to him only the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which carried with it, however, a seat in the Cabinet, and which, with the exception of a brief interval, he held until his death. His portraits would indicate that he was mild, benevolent, and kindly; but his writings show plainly that he was in reality of a somewhat choleric disposition, inclined to take offense over-readily, and bluntly outspoken in his wrath. They also show—and this is one of the most striking features of the present volume—the true attitude of the Whig Lords to the rising democracy. That they were deeply influenced by the French Revolution is evinced by Lord Holland's many sneers at the Monarchy, but there are likewise disparaging references to the "multitude." Their professions of liberality were doubtless sincere, but it is quite evident that the titled Whigs entertained a hearty distrust of the masses, and were determined to govern with scant deference to the wishes of the man in the street.

The preceding volume carried the narrative to the year of the death of Pitt and Fox; the present one continues it to the second year of George IV.'s reign—that is, to 1821. It thus covers a period of no small interest, including the Peninsular War, the War of 1812, and the final campaign of the allies, culminating at Waterloo. But Lord Holland's chief concern is with domestic politics, and with men more than events. He draws, in fine, a long series of portraits of political, military, scholastic, and literary celebrities, all clear-cut, many exhibiting a splendid discrimination, some livid with party or personal animus. There is occasionally sound justification for an old-time critic's complaint that "what at first sight looked like praise vanishes into censure, affected candor into calumny, and men, whom all the rest of mankind have for more than half a century honored, dwindle under his optical delusion into knaves and blockheads." On the other hand, Lord Holland's most scathing passages frequently close with a generous tribute to the merits of the subject of his denunciation. It is thus with his "true though flippant account" of the historian Gibbon. His darkest colors are reserved for George III., the Prince Regent, and the Duke of Wellington. He does not weary of declaiming against the Duke's "public crimes," and scarcely does grudging justice to his military achievements. For the Prince Regent—the "Prinney" of the entertaining "Creevey Papers," written from the same point of view, but with none of Lord Holland's

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stately dignity—he seldom has a good word, and ends his estimate of George III. with this thrust at the mad monarch and his supporters:

> If he had the heart of a courageous and the talents of a dexterous or shrewd man, he wanted the enlarged understanding which constitutes wisdom, as well as all elevation and refinement of sentiment which shed so much luster on rank. He was, too, a stranger to every generous affection which renders a Prince either amiable or benevolent. There was nothing great, nothing kind, nothing open, nothing graceful in his character or manners.
>
> Those who look to the objects for which governments are instituted must pronounce him an inglorious, if not a pernicious, sovereign of a free country; but more (and I fear they are not few) who contemplate the preservation and perhaps the extension of the monarchical branch of our Constitution, more as the end than the means of public administration, will, with some justice, regard George III. as a sensible man, and an able, useful, and fortunate Prince.

Not all of his caustic comments are bestowed on those who differed from him in political faith. His relation of the negotiations between the Prince Regent and the Whig leaders in 1811 and 1812 bristles with criticisms of Grey, Grenville, and Sheridan, and must give rise to the suspicion—probably unjust—that the master of Holland House was stung into recrimination by the loss of the opportunity to secure a berth for himself. Grenville and Grey he blames for neglecting to utilize the influence Sheridan possessed over the Prince, and Sheridan—"incapable of gratitude, but never hard to please"—he accuses of bad faith. Apropos of Sheridan, it is worth noting that Lord Holland censures Moore for his reproaches of the grandees who had not scrupled to make use of the dramatist but failed to come to his aid in the years of his adversity. "Some aid," we are assured, "was offered, and more was possibly accepted than his biographer relates or than his benefactors ever wished to have recorded." Further, it is declared that Sheridan was of that type of debtor whom it is difficult to help because "he would never have assisted any inquiry, or complied with any limitation or arrangement to secure the application of the money so raised exclusively to his creditors. Had he even consented to co-operate (which, if my memory does not mislead me, he above once refused to do), his inveterate habits of subterfuges and misstatement were such that little truth could have been ascertained, and none without affronting and mortifying him." Sheridan and Gibbon are not the only men of letters castigated by the fiery Whig. He is even more severe on the Lake poets—Coleridge, "the hireling of every illiberal publication in its turn;" Southey, "a weak reasoner and tiresome poet," who "neither in prose nor in verse captivated or warmed his reader;" and Wordsworth, "the *protégé* and supporter of Toryism in the North." For Byron he professes a patronizing friendship, but cannot refrain from a covert sarcasm:

> That extraordinary young man had satirized and ridiculed me, in common with many others, in his "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," under a very erroneous impression that I had written or caused to be written the criticism on his first publication in the Edinburgh Review; whereas it was from that printed review that I first learnt the existence of the poems, or, indeed, of the author, whose title I had thought was extinct.

Outside of the incidents connected with the Prince Regent's determination to re-establish the old Ministry under Lord Liverpool, chief attention is paid to the circumstances attending the trial of Queen Caroline. To Whigs of the Creevey brand, it will be remembered, this scandal was welcome as a convenient bludgeon wherewith to belabor the Government; but Lord Holland makes it clear that the real leaders of the Opposition took another view of the matter. "Most of our party," he writes, "and all who had been of the Cabinet in 1806, were, in truth, at first very unwilling to espouse the cause of the Queen. We had no great confidence in its merit and none whatever in her character; and we thought such a line of conduct would expose us to the charge of faction or revenge. On the other hand, we were as little disposed, after the treatment we had received, to identify ourselves for a second time with the King and to brave unpopularity by encouraging him in an ungenerous and unnecessary vexation of a half-crazy woman." The excitement occasioned by the trial, which led to remarkable demonstrations of popular

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sympathy for the unfortunate Queen, appears to have found no echo in Lord Holland's breast:

During the inquiry itself, I was, for the most part, employed in writing nonsensical puns and epigrams on the various indecencies which occurred, and tossing them across the table to the Chancellor for his diversion, and I believe I was the only Lord practiced in public speaking who asked not a single question during the inquiry. It was a farce, and a sorry, disgusting, and dangerous one. . . . Its permanent effect on the House was not fortunate. It, in some degree, verified Lord Egremont's prediction that the habit of putting questions to witnesses would familiarize every blockhead to hearing his own voice in public, and he would hereafter weary the House with his silly remarks on various occasions. The Lords, if not more unmanageable, became from this period a more loquacious assembly than heretofore.

As may be inferred from the preceding paragraphs, Lord Holland's method is extremely discursive. It is also allusive, presupposing an acquaintance with rather more than the principal facts of the history of the period. Lord Stavordale, however, has justified his selection as editor by incorporating before every chapter but the last—which is occupied with miscellaneous recollections—concise historical summaries. These invest the work with greater interest for the general reader, without impairing its value as a storehouse of information for the historian.

Comment on Current Books

Abraham Lincoln as a Lawyer

Mr. Hill has added a book of real value to the already great number of monographs on Abraham Lincoln, for he has brought out an aspect of his life and character which is certainly new to us and will, we think, be new to most readers. He has made good his claim that Abraham Lincoln was no mere second-rate jury lawyer, traveling a circuit with other second-rate lawyers, cajoling verdicts out of juries by his personal magnetism, and mainly famous as a raconteur of stories, many of which had better never have been told. In this volume Mr. Lincoln appears as working his way up by hard study from very humble beginnings until he became a leader of the Illinois bar, and an effective competitor, while before juries and before the full bench, of the ablest lawyers of his time, some of whom won high repute and large fortune by their legal practice. In an appendix the author gives a list of some two hundred cases "in the Supreme Court of Illinois—the highest appellate tribunal in the State—showing a record rarely, if ever, equaled in his day." Mr. Hill writes for laymen, in a clear, simple, and non-professional style, and has made an interesting as well as valuable volume. He has done his work so well that we regret that he has not done it better. Of all the cases Mr. Lincoln tried, the author has given us detailed account of only three or four. He refers to others in such passing phrases as "he tried the celebrated Wyant murder case in Bloomington," without telling us what the case was or why it was celebrated. Nor does he in a single case give an analysis of any of Mr. Lincoln's legal arguments for the purpose of showing the nature of his legal mind, the measure of his attainments, or the reasons for his success. Surely the reports would have given some basis for such an analysis and some opportunity for a comparison of his methods with those of other great leaders of the bar. An *erudite* lawyer balances authority against authority, and decides his case by the weight of the authorities which he puts into the scales. A *great* lawyer grasps the few, simple principles of social justice, and applies the appropriate one to the solution of the special problem before him. This was the method of Marshall and of Webster. We judge from Mr. Hill's book that this was the method of Abraham Lincoln. But the book would have been more satisfactory if the author had, from a study of Lincoln's legal cases, given some illustrations of Lincoln's legal method. (Lincoln the Lawyer. By Frederick Trevor Hill. The Century Company, New York. $2, net. Postage, 14 cents.)

The Æneid of Virgil

The latest addition to the admirable Greek and Latin Classics, edited by Mr. Dickinson, the author of "Letters of a Chinese Official," presents Virgil's "Æneid" in two compact volumes. The translation is by Mr. E. Fairfax Taylor, and the Introduction and Notes by Mr. E. M. Forster. The Latin and English texts are printed on opposite pages. (The Æneid of Virgil. Translated by E. Fairfax Taylor. Edited by E. M. Forster, B.A. In 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.)

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Borderland of Psychical Research

This "borderland" is a land of shadows, full of phantoms and pitfalls. This, however, as Dr. Hyslop believes, is no reason why science should not explore it with searchlights. To class such explorers with Spiritualists is simply a vulgar error. Dr. Hyslop's explorations, summarized in his recent volume, "Science and a Future Life," though they have convinced him of the continued existence of deceased friends, have not, he confesses, "reached that amount of scientific proof which is necessary to make the belief general in the minds of the intellectual classes." Scientific men must still attack the problem, and the court of intelligent public judgment must appraise their methods and results. In order to any progress it is therefore essential to understand not only the peculiar conditions which the investigator has to reckon with, but also how to discriminate between phenomena of different kinds—normal, abnormal, and supernormal. The present volume aims at this. It treats perplexing questions conservatively, and with a view to create an intelligent public interest in the baffling problems of psychical research. It is a book which none should neglect who are attracted by the recondite mystery to whose solution it looks forward and attempts to clear the way. (Borderland of Psychical Research. By James H. Hyslop, Ph.D., LL.D. Herbert B. Turner & Co., Boston. $1.50, net.)

Casa Grande

If this is, as we suppose, by the author of "The Fugitive Blacksmith," the absence of humor is the more remarkable, for that book was notable for its original and captivating vein of fun. The present story relates the trials of a landowner in California holding under a Mexican grant in dealing with squatters who obstinately believe, against law and reason, that they have a right to the land they have held, and are ready to fight for it. Needless to say, one of these squatter folk is a brave and lovable girl; while the outcome is easily foreseen, the incidents which precede it are stirring. (Casa Grande. By Charles Duff Stuart. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.)

The Day's Journey

It was a long and weary day set for the journey made by Cecily Kingslake, for it meant her whole life, and she traveled courageously. The familiar situation, an unrivaled favorite with romancers, of a happy marriage spoiled by the wandering fancy of the artistic member of the partnership, is brought to an unusual end, which must be left to the reader to find out for himself. Robert Kingslake's weakness is not phenomenal, but we recoil from the punishment his wife visited upon him. She unexpectedly wrote and published a better novel than his. Writing for the press has become the refuge for broken hearts in these days, to the exclusion of more evil and outbreaking offenses against society. Cecily was very sweet over her success. She did not crow, so to speak, but Robert succumbed, and returned to her side, a penitent and wiser man. If neither of them ever wrote any more novels to take the English lending libraries by storm, the stony day's journey was not in vain. The author, Netta Syrett, wields a clever pen and shows much wit in her society sketches. (A Day's Journey. By Netta Syrett. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.25.

Der Vorchristliche Jesus

Is Christianity a life, or is it a dogma—a certain set of ideas and beliefs? Professor Smith maintains that Christianity is a dogma. His scholarly book, the German edition of which now lies before us, seems to ignore the permanent value of practical aims. It is perhaps an outgrowth of the author's article in The Outlook for November 17, 1900, wherein it was contended that from the first century even until now dogma has been the life-blood of Christianity; that the burden of primitive preaching, as nearly as we can ascertain, was most concisely expressed in the formula "The Jesus the Christ;" finally, that, if any features of an incomparable life were used in primitive preaching, "it was only for their logical worth as demonstrating by signs and wonders the divine power and superhuman origin and nature of the bearer of that life—exactly the particulars in which that life could be to us neither example nor inspiration." The famous passage in 1 Timothy iii. 16 thus would appear to the author of "Der Vorchristliche Jesus" to be, as a symbol of the new faith, decisive in this matter: "And without controversy great is the mystery of godliness: He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory." Some of this philosophy, according to the Tulane professor, was pre-Christian, and formed a kind of cult which, from a hundred years before Christ to a hundred years after, was spread among the Jews and especially among the Greeks, more or less secretly hid in what we know as "Mysteries." The Outlook does not agree with Professor Smith's point of view, and therefore cannot agree with his conclusions. It is true that dogmatic endeavors characterize Jewish rabbis and Greek philosophers, and it is certainly true

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that primitive preaching did not merely relate the story of a martyr's life. "The Jesus the Christ" was more than that. On the other hand, the announcement of Deliverance was more than the heralding of a new philosophy; it was the heralding of a Person. And this distinction ever obtains in the continuity of Christian thought and in the heart of every believer who experiences in Christianity not so much a philosophy as the living expression of the Divine Life. (Der Vorchristliche Jesus. Von William Benjamin Smith. Mit einem Vorworte von Paul Wilhelm Schmiedel. Alfred Töpelmann, Giessen, Germany.)

Famous Actor-Families in America

This admirable study of American families of actors is not only valuable to those specially interested in the American stage (a subject demanding more and more serious consideration); it is delightful reading in a general way, full of attractive personalities and episodes connected with the most picturesque of professions. The volume opens with a short essay on the drama of to-day and yesterday, in which the reader discerns the sophistication, the ripe judgment, of his guide; and in the following studies he is conscious of the same fine critical sense, although the chapters are largely biographical and peculiarly free from theory and digression. Mr. Moses has gathered together a mass of valuable material, arranging it logically and presenting a thorough history of his chosen field. The book very naturally opens with a study of the Booths, followed by the Jeffersons, the Sotherns, the Boucicaults, and other well-known actor groups. One of the most valuable sections of the book is the extensive and accurate bibliography with which it closes. It is also provided with genealogical tables and good photographs. (Famous Actor-Families in America. By Montrose J. Moses. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. $2, net. Postage, 20c. additional.)

Germany's Best-Loved Queen

A heroic figure it is that greets us from the pages of Mary Maxwell Moffat's "Queen Louisa of Prussia." What Mommsen said of her—"It is a noteworthy fact that, if we except the mighty monarch still known among us as 'Old Fritz,' there is no member of our Royal House whose memory is so cherished by the people as the memory of Queen Louisa"—will probably long remain true. At a time when Prussia's fortunes were at their lowest, when Jena and the Peace of Tilsit had left the kingdom at the mercy of Napoleon, it was Louisa, not her unhappy husband, Frederick William III., who bravely set about the task of reviving the fire of a genuine national existence and fighting the forces of disintegration. Seconding and inspiring the genius of Hardenburg, of Stein, of Scharnhorst, to her must be given in large measure the credit for the foundation-laying of the Germany of to-day. In the story of her life, accordingly, lies the material for an informing, swiftly moving, and dramatic narrative, and it is a pleasure to be able to record that her latest biographer has made excellent use of her opportunity. Showing us Louisa, maiden, wife, mother, crown princess, and queen, she shows us at once a very noble and a very human being, whose faults of impulsiveness and romanticism fade in the presence of her resplendent qualities. Especially praiseworthy are the chapters on the betrothal and marriage, the famous meeting with Napoleon, and the after days of nation-building. From these pages, too, may be obtained a vivid idea of the forces that hurried Prussia on the downward path to Jena, and of the men who gave themselves so devotedly to the task of reconstruction. Altogether, this is a biography that appeals and stimulates and convinces, and as such should hold the interest of a wide and appreciative audience. (Queen Louisa of Prussia. By Mary Maxwell Moffat. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

Lhasa and Its Mysteries

A third edition has appeared of Colonel Waddell's admirable record of the Tibetan Expedition of 1903–1904, and his description of the mysterious capital city of Tibet. In response to popular demand for a less costly book, the publishers have now been able to issue "Lhasa and Its Mysteries" in its present form at a very much cheaper rate, yet nevertheless containing all the original letterpress and nearly all the numerous original illustrations. The latter are not only of permanent historical worth in illustrating critical moments of the progress of an extremely important political and military undertaking, but are unique in that they are reproduced from Colonel Waddell's own photographs, and are thus not to be found elsewhere. The third edition also contains an explanation of the natural history notes on the newly explored country, so as to include an interesting list of the numerous wild flowers collected by Colonel Waddell around Lhasa. In his preface to this new edition the author appropriately calls attention to a striking sign of the upheaval made in Tibet by the British Mission. Over a year after its withdrawal, the Grand Lama of Tashilhumpo, one of the "Living Buddhas," and the recognized successor of the

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fugitive Dalai Lama of Lhasa, broke through all the traditional isolation of centuries, and, for the first time in the history of Tibet, crossed the Himalayas, braving the long journey of many weeks over dangerous passes, to offer homage at Calcutta to the son of the Emperor of India. (Lhasa and Its Mysteries. By L. Austine Waddell, LL.D. Third and Cheaper Edition. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

Mars and Its Mystery

A fascinating question is here discussed in a plain and thorough treatment for the general reader. Is our neighboring planet proven to be the abode of intelligent life? The evidence presented is what has been gathered by the astronomer who has given more time than all others combined to study of the so-called "canals" of Mars, originally observed in 1877 by Schiaparelli. From his unrivaled position at Flagstaff, Arizona, in a clear atmosphere 7,000 feet above sea-level, Professor Lowell with his great telescope has obtained results explicable on no other hypothesis than that of an intelligent population irrigating their dry globe by water supplies drawn from the melting snows of its polar regions. Along these conduits bands of vegetation spring up, thirty miles and more in width, and it is to these bands that Schiaparelli gave the name of *canali*, Englished as "canals." Professor Lowell's own publications, as his book on "Mars" in 1895, do not render less desirable a more popular presentation of the facts with a discussion of their evidential value and of the objections to his hypothesis. For this Mr. Morse is peculiarly qualified by having spent a month in observing Mars for himself together with Mr. Lowell. The canals, several hundred of them, overspread the planet like a net, all in straight lines of uniform width, radiating systematically from certain points. When the annual melting of the polar snows shows water appearing, the canals, *i.e.*, the vegetation springing up along the water conduits, begin to appear, and to stretch down toward the equator. Where they intersect, large "oases," as of vegetation, appear. When the next seasonal change occurs, these oases and canals disappear, and are not seen again till the dead season is past. Mars is certainly an older world than ours. Perhaps it shows what we are coming to in that far-off time which scientists foretell, when our oceans shall have been largely absorbed into the rocky crust of the globe. Of more interest to us is the fact, which present evidence strongly evinces, that intelligent life exists in other worlds than ours, and under other conditions, while still subject as here to the law of struggle for existence. (Mars and Its Mystery. By Edward S. Morse. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $2, net.)

The Modern Pulpit

In a preceding volume, "Representative Modern Preachers," Professor Brastow, of Yale, has exhibited the characteristic qualities that gave effulgence to the great lights of the modern pulpit. In his present "study of homiletic sources and characteristics" he portrays the pulpit of to-day both in its general traits and tendencies and in its specific differences from the pulpit of former days, resulting from the action and reaction which go on between it and its changed environment in the present. Dr. Brastow pithily remarks at the outset: "The everlasting Gospel is for to-day, and its timeliness is precisely one of the most prominent notes of its everlastingness." New times need new adjustments, that the ancient truth may meet the fresh want of the ever-changing world. Our world is larger than our fathers' world, and much more complex. The preaching that was more or less fitted to their world must be modified to fit ours. But to know our own world and its peculiar needs one must know the historical factors that have gone into its making. Dr. Brastow therefore passes to his main subject through a survey of the preparative influences at work during the two centuries preceding this. In the eighteenth century he notes the quickening of religious and intellectual life, with the Biblical and the literary movement which gave to preaching a sounder basis and a more humanitarian turn. In the nineteenth century he takes account of the modifying effects of science, philosophy, historical study, and critical investigation, with which another distinct factor should have been reckoned in—the ethical revival, so effective in various social reforms. Its effects, however, are prominently noticed in "the modification of inhuman conceptions and harsh statements of doctrine. . . . Why is it that the preacher cannot present the doctrine of future punishment as Edwards did?" Modern preaching is described as characteristically ethical, practical, philanthropic, and also Christological in a broader sense than formerly. "Christ is presented not only as the historic ideal of all complete religious character, but as the energizing moral and spiritual force of the world." This must suffice to indicate Dr. Brastow's points of view, and the setting which he gives his subject. To follow him either into his delineations of national types of preaching—German, British, American—or his affluent illustrations of

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these in sketches of very many preachers, living or deceased, is here impracticable. These sketches are free from dogmatic bias, and generously appreciative, while giving free scope to a critical judgment that can be at once frank and delicately expressed. A criticism of the late Dr. R. W. Dale, based on a widely circulated misconstruction of a remark of his, needs correction by his own statement, on page xxix. of the Authorized Record of the Proceedings of the International Congregational Council of 1891. For "a certain mental manliness" and a "note of individuality" Dr. Brastow gives the palm to the American pulpit, but marks it defective "in spiritual fervor, in delicacy of feeling and sentiment, in moral searchingness, in evangelistic zeal, and in Biblical simplicity." That defect in these qualities has often gone in hand with the mediæval theology neutralizes Dr. Brastow's inculpation of the "new" theology as a main cause of it, especially when one sees just these qualities in such a man as Dr. R. F. Horton, of London, a representative exponent of the new theology and the higher criticism. Men of the spirit are effective with either type of theology; men of the letter with neither. Himself a Congregationalist, Dr. Brastow dwells longest on the traits of Anglican, Episcopalian, and Methodist churches and preachers. Men of all churches will recognize his work as one of remarkable attractiveness and ability. (The Modern Pulpit. By Lewis O. Brastow, D.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50, net.)

The Odyssey for Young Readers

Mr. Church has no superior in the art of retelling classical stories so as to interest boys and girls. And certainly the tales of the Cyclops, the Sirens, Circe and the sailors, Ulysses and his bow, and the other famous episodes of the Odyssey, are among the most thrilling of the world's stock of the lore of adventure. The book is admirably printed and has colored pictures. (The Odyssey for Boys and Girls. Told from Homer. By the Rev. Alfred J. Church, M.A. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.)

Orange Fairy Book

This is, if we remember rightly, the seventeenth or eighteenth volume in this collection of fairy tales. In this book the material has been drawn from many sources—from the natives of Rhodesia, from Uganda, from the Punjab, and from savage sources as well. These tales and "The Magic Book" are the only stories in the collection not written by Mrs. Lang. (The Orange Fairy Book. Edited by Andrew Lang. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50, net.)

A Philosophy of Accounting

The nature of capital and income and the relations between capital and income have long been subjects of keen debate among economists, to such a degree that it is difficult for the student to apprehend what is and what is not orthodox, and for the business man to avail himself of the teachings of economic science. It is in the hope of remedying this state of affairs, and, as he puts it, of supplying the "link long missing between the ideas and usages underlying business transactions and the theories of abstract economics," that Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, has elaborated into an exhaustive treatise the views first published by him some years ago in the Economic Journal. These views have not, he admits, commanded universal assent, but he has found reason to adhere to them, and the result is a text-book which, if not wholly acceptable to the orthodox economist, is certainly extremely lucid and readable, and goes far to fulfill its author's purpose. The theses it maintains rest on the fundamental conceptions of capital as "a *stock of wealth* existing at an *instant* of time"—wealth being defined so as to include all those parts of the material universe which have been appropriated to the uses of man—and of income as "a *flow of services* through a *period* of time." In other words, Professor Fisher defines and regards capital and income in terms which have the dual merit of simplicity and comprehensiveness, and also permit clear classification. Proceeding thence he develops what he is justified in calling a philosophy of economic accounting, his survey embracing such themes as "capital accounts," "capital summation," "income accounts," "income summation," "psychic income," "earnings and income," and "the risk element." Professor Fisher fully recognizes and endeavors to forestall possible objections, and he consistently fortifies his contentions by instances taken from the every-day world of commerce and finance. His work, therefore, has not only a scientific interest for the theoretical student of economics, but also a human and vital interest for the accountant and the business man. With a prudence that all economic writers might imitate to advantage, he systematically recapitulates the successive stages of his argument, relegates mathematical formulæ to an appendix, and includes a compact glossary of definitions. (The Nature of Capital and Income. By Irving Fisher, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3, net.)

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Silanus the Christian

The author, a man of large learning and deeply religious spirit, as the readers of his works know, combines in himself the worship of Christ with rejection of the miraculous element in the Gospels. In his present work his own experience in coming to this position seems to be imbedded. It is the autobiography of an imaginary character, an educated Roman, Silanus. In his youth he had been a disciple of the Stoic Epictetus, and in his later years records the failure of Stoicism to resolve the great enigmas of life, and his gradual coming, through study of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, "into the joy of the family of God" as a disciple of Christ at the foot of the cross. Large space is given to the explanations by which Dr. Abbot, as "Silanus," disposes of critical difficulties in the Biblical record, and these are sometimes rather strained and inadequate. Weak as such portions of Silanus's argument with himself may be, Dr. Abbot's conclusion, that Christ "is in the highest sense divine," rests on impregnable ground. (Silanus the Christian. By Edwin A. Abbot. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.60.)

The Spanish Inquisition

It is difficult for any American in this twentieth century to conceive how it was possible that one should at the same time profess to be a follower of Jesus Christ and a believer in the religious duty of pronouncing on any man, under any circumstances, such an anathema as Dr. Lea reports on page 95: "We excommunicate and anathematize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost . . . all apostate heretics from our holy Catholic faith. . . . May all the curses and plagues of Egypt which befell King Pharaoh come upon them. . . . May they be accursed wherever they be, in the city or in the country, in eating and in drinking, in waking and in sleeping, in living and in dying," etc., etc. It is equally difficult to comprehend how any priest could have sincerely believed that the Church had *power* to invoke these divine curses on the heretic and *need* to supplement them with torture and death. And it is almost as difficult to understand how the people, seeing that in case after case the plagues of Egypt did not fall on the accursed, should not have come to the conclusion that the Church was wrong in its interpretation of the divine counsel. We rise from the reading of this second volume with the conviction that the Inquisition was worse than our Protestant prejudices had conceived it: worse in the race antipathies which gave it birth, worse in the sordid spirit which animated the inquisitors, worse in the flagrant disobedience of the words and violation of the spirit of Christ, worse in the palpable injustice of its methods, worse in the horrible cruelties which it habitually perpetrated, worse in its desire to perpetrate cruelties which were beyond its power to inflict, and worse in the indelible impress it has left upon the character of the Spanish people. And this conviction is strengthened by the calm temper and judicial attitude of the historian, who tells the story with an almost legal dryness of detail, and with an absence of all appearance of indignation, which he leaves unexpressed if not suppressed, and which for this reason his readers feel all the more forcibly. We shall hope to give somewhat at length an epitome of Dr. Lea's story when his work is completed. (A History of the Inquisition of Spain. By Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. In Four Vols. Vol. II. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50, net.)

Spiritual Studies in St. Luke

The general character of these volumes is homiletical, and their aim is to feed the altar flame of the consecrated heart. They draw largely upon the thoughts of the early Church fathers, and of commentators ancient and modern. There is much sermon-stuff here, and material for the still hour of private devotion. The author is well known in the Episcopal communion as the rector of St. Ignatius's Church in New York. The point of view is that of confessional orthodoxy of the old type, as held by those who are attached to Catholic views and practices concerning the sacraments, apostolic succession, etc. (Spiritual Studies in St. Luke's Gospel. By Rev. Arthur Ritchie, D.D. In 2 vols. The Young Churchman Company, Milwaukee, Wis. $5, net.)

The Spirit World

In substance this work is a thoroughgoing plea for the factual character of all the miraculous things recorded in the Bible. None of them is regarded as legendary. The pertinency of the title to the plea appears in the activity ascribed to angels. Angels overthrew the walls of Jericho at the shout of Joshua's army. "We know," says the author, "that Michael will have special charge of the general resurrection." Angels are not credited with everything. God himself stopped the earth's revolution to give Joshua's army a longer day for complete victory, as still is taught—the author gladly records—in some Sunday-schools. The author's design, "strengthening the faith of God's people," is laudable; the unwisdom of it is palpable. It is a fundamental and mischievous mistake to identify the miraculous and the super-

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natural. Only the need of protesting against it entitles such books to serious notice. (The Spirit World. By Joseph Hamilton. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50, net.)

Thin-Paper Classics

Within the last two or three years one of the most remarkable developments of book-making has been the publication of what are known as "thin-paper editions." It is really astonishing to find how many of the standard books in fiction, poetry, essay, and even biography and history may now be obtained in what are really "pocket volumes." Even so extensive a work as "Pepys's Diary," with its many hundreds of pages, may now be had in a little book less than an inch thick, which may easily be slipped into a small coat-pocket. The advantages of this form of book-making are obvious—compactness and handiness. And they lend themselves admirably to an attractive style of binding in limp leather or imitation leather. Most of these volumes, now issued by several publishers, have also clear type of good size. The disadvantages of this style of printing are seen when an attempt is made to put too much into one volume, and to make use of paper which is far from opaque. In such cases, unless the registration of the type be extremely accurate, the print shows through from one page of a leaf to its opposite. Moreover, wherever the thinness of paper has been carried to excess, the leaves adhere and ease in reading is lost. It is well, therefore, to examine pretty closely individual specimens of this kind of literature before purchasing; but if a wise choice is made, a library of scores of these books can be obtained which will include in surprisingly small space much of the best of English literature. We make these remarks apropos of the receipt from T. Y. Crowell & Co., of this city, of a number of "Thin-Paper Classics" and "Thin-Paper Poets." Thus we have in single volumes at the price of $1.25 the complete poetical works of Keats, Burns, Longfellow, Scott, Shelley, Tennyson, and Whittier, and ample selections from Browning; in fiction, in two volumes each, at the price of $2.50 for the two, Dumas's "The Count of Monte Cristo," Victor Hugo's "Les Misérables," and Cervantes's "Don Quixote;" also, in two volumes each, and at the same price, Carlyle's "French Revolution" and Boswell's "Johnson." These volumes, it should be added, form only a part of lists of similar publications, while a long list of works of fiction in one small volume each is furnished by the same publisher.

Letters to The Outlook

THE INSURANCE CONTEST

The following letters fairly represent the three attitudes found among those who advocate the opposition tickets in the insurance election now going on in New York State—the attitude of perplexity, the attitude of calm and dispassionate reasoning, and the knock-down-and-drag-out frame of mind. The opinion of The Outlook will be found in full on our editorial pages.—THE EDITORS.

A MILITANT VIEW

I have not liked the position The Outlook has taken in the matter of the contest now going on for the control of the Mutual Life and New York Life Companies.

It appears to be a fact that both companies have in the past been looted by their officers and those in control, and it is said that some of these guilty persons are still in the service of these companies. Is it at all strange that the policy-holder should wish these persons punished? Is it reasonable to ask that they be given further opportunity to be dishonest? Is it not a sad commentary upon our existing laws that men so obviously criminal can escape the penalty which men of lower social rank for lesser wrongs are obliged to suffer?

You publish the report that Mr. T. W. Lawson "is back of the so-called International Policy-Holders' Committee," and express the opinion that he would prove an unsafe trustee. If we admit for the sake of argument that he is more unsafe than the McCurdy and Depew type, we still are left in the dark as to how we are putting him in control by electing a board of thirty-six eminent men who may fairly be presumed to do their own thinking and not to be wearing any man's collar.

In your issue of October 20 you counsel the policy-holders in both these companies to keep the present administrations in office for another year, adding that a less revolutionary change will be possible in the next annual election, should they prove unsatisfactory. You do not state that only at this election will it be possible to secure an entirely new board of directors in either company, and

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that at each subsequent election only one-half each board is subject to change.

In the report of the President of the Mutual Life, under date of October 1, 1906, after a statement of the achievements of the preceding nine months, this expression occurs: "The above is a partial record of things done, and not talked of or promised." This sentence is particularly offensive to me, as it implies that the President's oath on taking office, and the acceptance by him of a salary of fifty thousand dollars per year from the company, did not constitute a promise to administer its affairs honestly and efficiently, in the interest of the policy-holders.

I notice that the Mutual Life are large buyers of advertising space in The Outlook, and the question naturally arises as to whether you may not, consequently, be prejudiced in favor of the company—your advertising clients—as against the policy-holders whose interests would seem clearly to point to a complete, "radical" change of the companies' managements at this opportune time.

ONSLOW W. COMSTOCK.

Southbridge, Massachusetts,
October 22, 1906.

A REASONABLE ADVOCACY

If I understand the position heretofore taken by The Outlook in regard to the life insurance elections, it is this:

This is a transition period in the management of the companies; some reforms have been accomplished; if it appears that the good work of turning the rascals out is not complete, it can be completed at the next election; the situation is one of doubt and complexity; let us wait; do not swap horses while crossing the stream.

Will you allow me to present some reasons why I believe your judgment and advice in this matter are wrong?

(1) Your advice assumes that the contest is between rival tickets, and that the question is, Which is the better ticket? This is no longer true. The question is the broader one of whether the claim of "mutuality" on which the companies were founded and which they have always urged upon the insuring public is real or sham. Are the companies democracies, as they claim to be, or are they still autocracies, as the insurance investigation showed them to be? The old method of self-perpetuation, as stated in the insurance report, was for the officers of the company to collect through the soliciting agents large blocks of proxies running for many years. With these in the safe and a comparatively small number of policy-holders in attendance at insufficiently advertised meetings, the administration was in an impregnable position, and easily carried all annual meetings. Year after year the officers voted in the trustees, and the trustees in turn elected the officers. "The result" (as the insurance report says) "has been an autocracy, maintained almost without challenge." And the result of that result was commercial degeneration—shall I not say rot?

The new law attempted to change that by providing for a real election by the whole body of policy holders. What is the result? Are the administrations trying to carry out the spirit of the law? No. Both companies have impressed their armies of managers and agents throughout the country into the service of the administrations in electioneering for and collecting votes for themselves. Please remember that these great organizations have been built up by the use of the policy-holders' money, represent the accumulated enterprise of the companies for years, and belong equally to all the policy-holders in common. Why, then, should they be coolly appropriated by an existing administration and set to work (with more or less thinly veiled intimations of dismissal lurking in the background) exclusively for a fraction of the company?

My claim is that it is more important for the policy-holders to demonstrate the "mutuality" of their companies than to elect one or the other of the existing tickets, whatever their comparative merits.

(2) Your advice assumes that something can be done another year. I say that unless the policy-holders succeed at this election, it is doubtful if they ever can. They are now aroused; this is the only year when full boards are to be elected; at the next election and thereafter only one-half the trustees retire; the organization of policy-holders cannot be repeated each year—the expenses and effort are too great. Furthermore, the point of this election is to prove what the policy-holders *can* do. If the policy-holders succeed now, coming administrations will make representative nominations; if the policy-holders fail, they are at their mercy, unless the Legislature again comes to the rescue.

(3) It should be remembered that the whole insurance story has not been told. The investigation opened with protestations of innocence and claims of great public benefactions. These did not last long, but the investigation left many chapters of insurance history unread, and every effort has been made to keep the remainder of the book sealed. The desperate efforts of the current administrations for re-election, in which they have brought themselves at least to the verge of the law—District Attorney

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Jerome is even now investigating certain acts of the Mutual Life's management to see if some of the officers are not amenable to the criminal law for their campaign methods—are part of the same programme of obstruction to further investigation or disclosure of liability. I would remind you that the report of the Armstrong Investigation Committee itself recommended that "the accounts of the companies should be thoroughly examined in order that the extent to which moneys have been misapplied and the responsibility for any misapplication which may be shown may be definitely determined. In view of the magnitude of its labors, it was not possible for the Committee to undertake this task, which apparently devolves upon those charged with the supervision of the companies' affairs." Can any one believe that this work will be thoroughly done if the administrations are continued in power?

In order that my position may not be misunderstood, I should add that I am counsel for one of the independent or opposition tickets, in the Mutual Life. I have, however, carefully refrained from electioneering through your columns for the ticket I represent, or attacking the personnel of any of the tickets in either company. My sole object is, if possible, to show to policy-holders that the present issues are not men but methods, and the underlying theory of insurance as now conducted. The subject is a large one, and I have but touched the surface. If my points are sound, but one conclusion can be drawn, however; viz., the policy-holders should vote for democracy and mutuality, *i. e.*, against the administration in each company.

In closing I would only add that it does not seem to me so much a case of "swapping horses" while crossing the stream, as of going ashore in the lifeboat the 1906 Legislature has sent out to the moral derelict that the administrations are still seeking to navigate in something of the old way.

ALBERT S. BARD.

New York, October 31, 1906.

A PERPLEXED POLICY-HOLDER

Will you please answer a few questions that have been puzzling me greatly as a policy-holder in the New York Life Insurance Company? I have held a policy in the New York Life for thirteen years, and up to within the last month have never voted for directors or been asked to vote. I hardly knew that I could vote. Within the last month I have received nearly half a bushel of literature from various sources advising me how to vote—a letter from the Governor of the State, another letter from a leading banker of Chicago, two or three letters from the head office in New York, other letters from the State agency, and more letters from other parties representing the "International Policy-Holders' Committee." As there is no unanimity in the advice, and as The Outlook now comes out advising support of the administration ticket, I confess that I hardly know "where I am at."

I believe it is pretty generally conceded that there has been a good deal of corruption in the past management of the New York Life Insurance Company. On that assumption, would The Outlook please answer me the following questions?

1. What are the duties of the Board of Directors?
2. To what extent were former directors responsible for past corruption?
3. What has become of these directors?
4. Who elected the present officers of the company?
5. Who selected the men who are running on the administration ticket?
6. Who selected the men who are running on the International Policy-Holders' ticket?
7. Have the officers of the company, as representatives of the policy-holders, ever consulted the policy-holders as to their wishes regarding the general principles that are to govern the management of the company?
8. Is there any reason why the direct primary would not apply to the nomination of a board of directors of a life insurance company as well as to the officers of a State?

Regarding question 7, I understand that several States have tried to force a division of the surplus either annually or at periods of every five years. In each case the insurance companies have fought it bitterly. If, as recent circular letters assure me, the company belongs to the policy-holders, why should they not be consulted with regard to their wishes in the matter? Most of the literature from unbiased persons pronounces the old tontine policy with its twenty-year accumulation a delusion and a snare. How am I to know that either of these Boards of Directors will correct this? When I vote for a party candidate, I know the platform on which he stands, and if, after election, he does not carry out his pledges, I know that he has deceived me, and I won't vote for him again. But here I am confronted by the proposition of voting for one of two parties of men, with neither of whom I am at all acquainted. I do not know how they came to be on the ticket, and I do not know what they stand for. I am probably ordinarily intelligent, but I confess I am unable to act with any intelligence in this election unless I can get more light from some source.

A POLICY-HOLDER.

Chamberlain, South Dakota.

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A Leading Tobacco Trade Paper Now Admits My Main Contention

A recent issue of "The Tobacco Leaf" says, editorially, under a caption of "Heading Off the Mail Order Evil": "How many retailers realize how important it is for them to fight the mail order houses in every possible way. Do you know that if the retailers of this country do not stop the growth of the mail order houses that they will eventually do almost all the retail business of the country, and there will be no need of retailers or even wholesalers." This must mean me. (The editorial then goes on to suggest to the cigar dealers of the country that they fight the mail order evil, not on price or quality, but by an organized opposition to the passage of a parcels post bill, as practically all the advantage of such a bill, it asserts, is for the mail order business.)

Shivers' Panatela EXACT SIZE AND SHAPE

I am glad to note, too, that "The Tobacco Leaf" editorial does not contradict my statement that I can give better cigar values than the retailer, and, parcels post or no parcels post, I can continue to pay expressage on my customers' orders, because my preponderance of repeat orders cuts out practically all selling expense for me. Now since, as you know, "where there is smoke there must be fire," do you not believe it would be worth your while to investigate this factory-to-smoker plan of mine which is causing so much solicitude to "the trade"? Make a trial of my Panatelas at my risk, as per offer below.

MY OFFER IS:—I will send one hundred Shivers' Panatela Cigars on approval to a reader of The Outlook, express prepaid. He may smoke ten cigars and return the remaining ninety at my expense and no charge for those smoked if he is not pleased with them; if he is pleased, and keeps them, he is to remit the price, $5.00, within ten days.

The fillers of these cigars are Clear Havana, of good quality—not only clear, but long, clean Havana—no shorts or cuttings are used. They are hand made by the best of workmen. The making has much to do with the smoking qualities of a cigar. The wrappers are genuine Sumatra.

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"At times I would have no appetite for days, then I would feel ravenous, never satisfied when I did eat and so nervous I felt like shrieking at the top of my voice. I lost flesh badly and hardly knew which way to turn until one day I bought a box of Grape-Nuts food to see if I could eat that. I tried it without telling the doctor, and liked it fine; made me feel as if I had something to eat that was satisfying and still I didn't have that heaviness that I had felt after eating any other food.

"I hadn't drank any coffee then in five weeks. I kept on with the Grape-Nuts and in a month and a half I had gained 15 pounds, could eat almost anything I wanted, didn't feel badly after eating and my nervousness was all gone. It's a pleasure to be well again."

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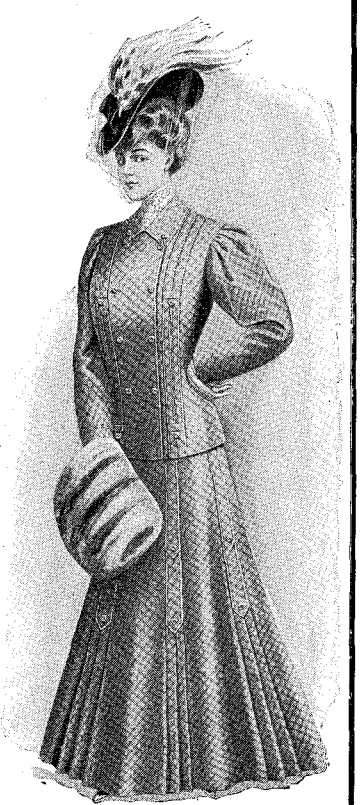

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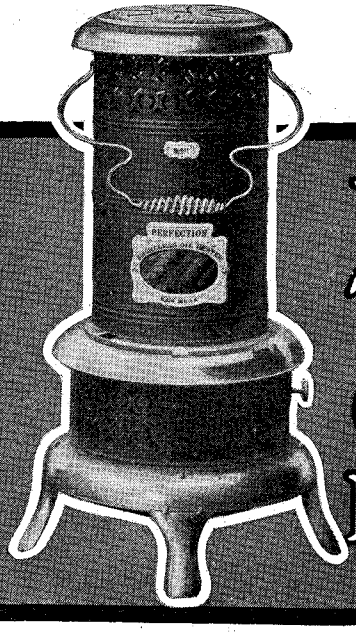

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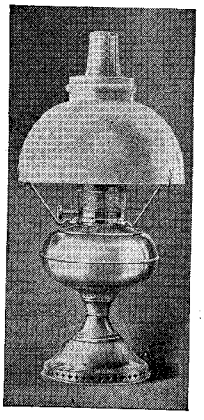

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